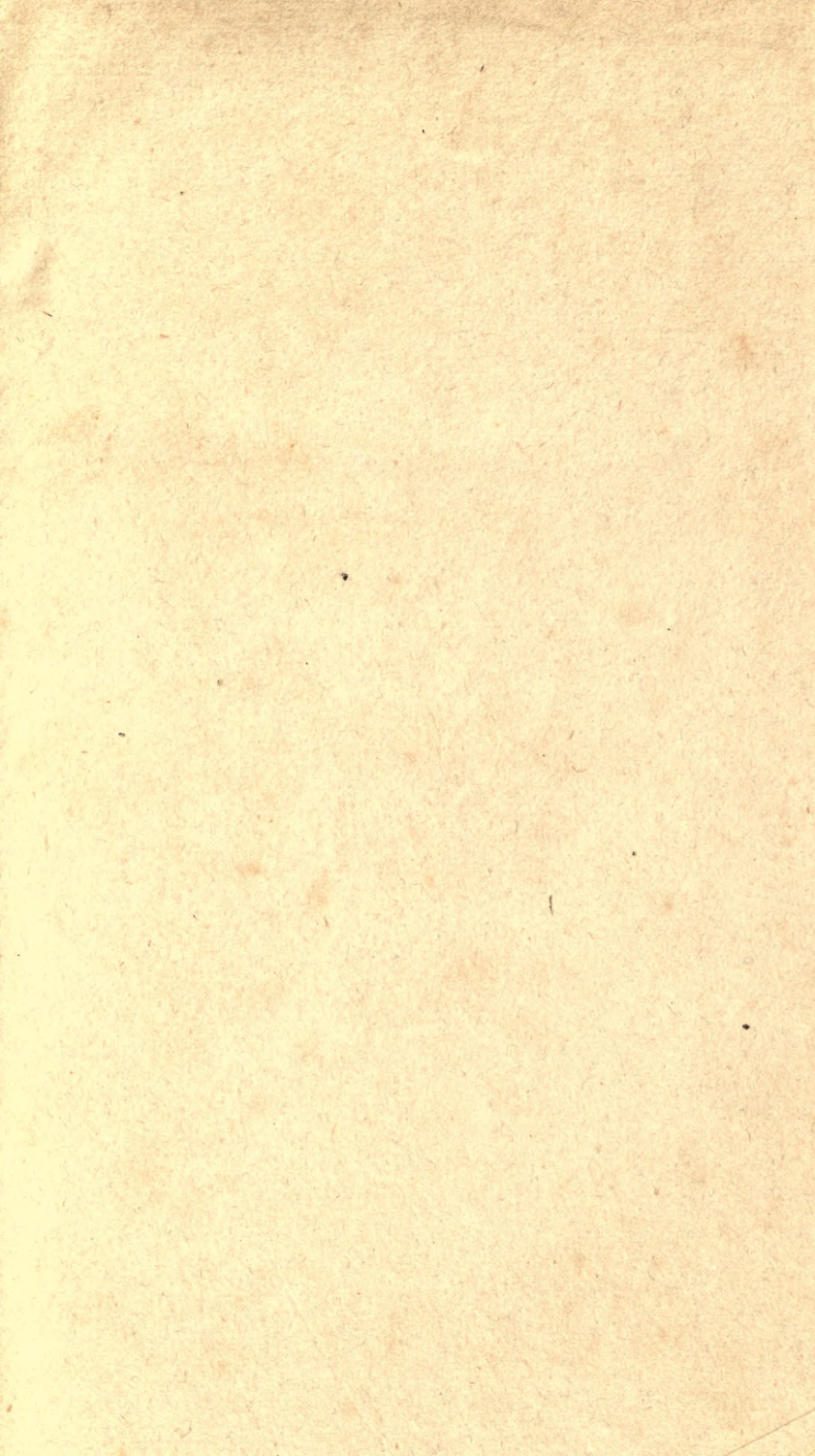


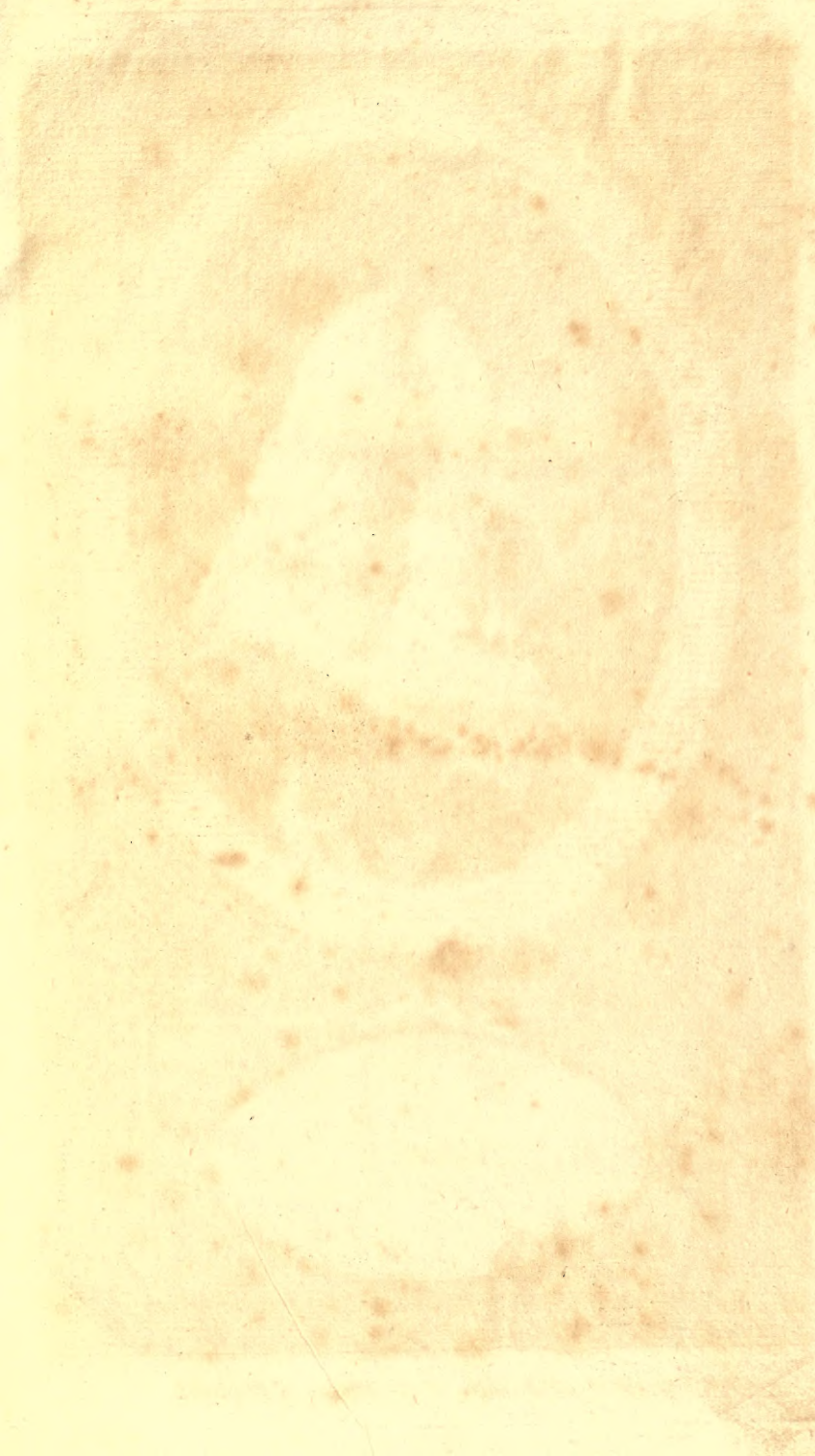
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM
THE REVOLUTION
TO THE
END OF THE AMERICAN WAR,
AND
PEACE OF VERSAILLES IN 1783.
IN SIX VOLUMES.

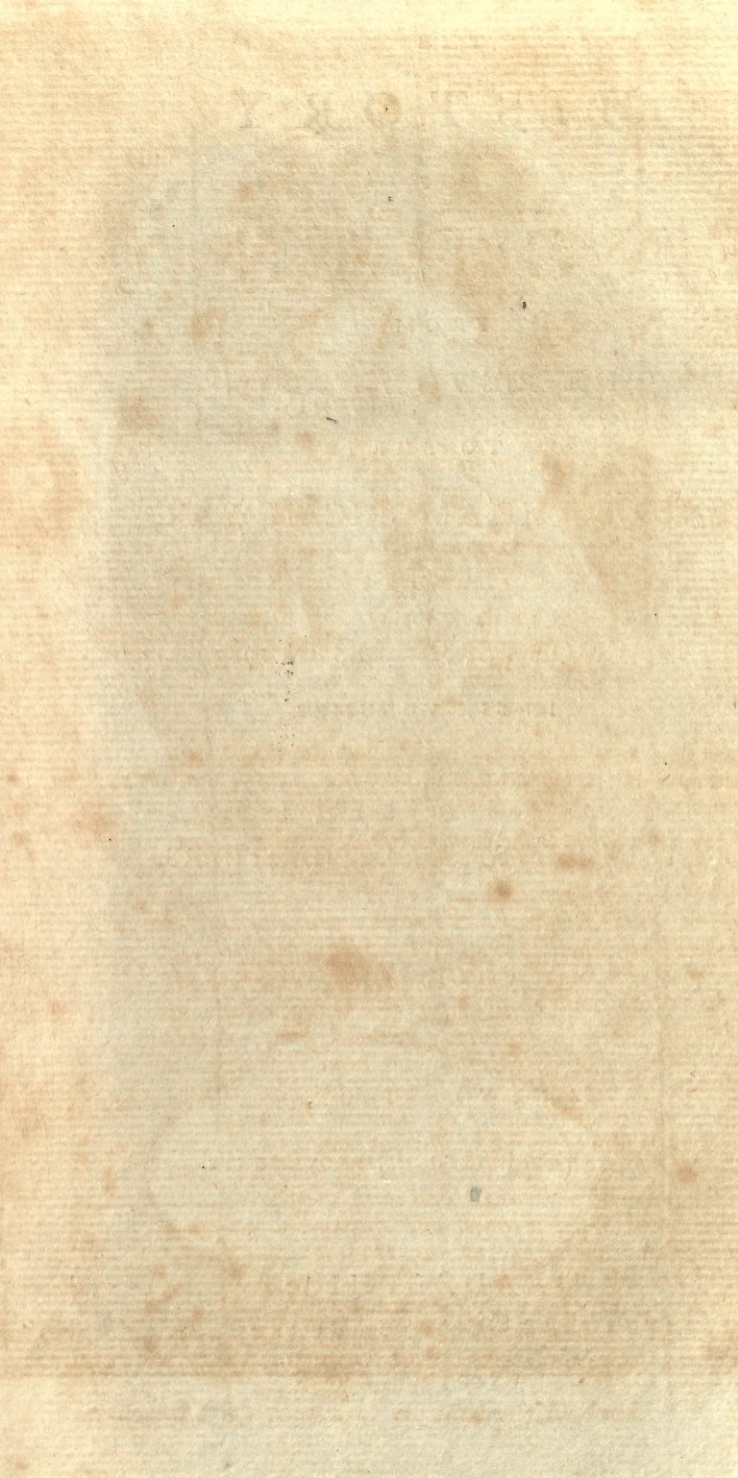
DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D. AND OTHERS.

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VOL. III.
—

A NEW EDITION,
WITH CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

FROM THE REVOLUTION
TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

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Letter from
M. Rouillé.

IN the month of January Mr. Fox, lately appointed secretary of state, received a letter from M. Rouillé, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs to the king of France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, upon the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannic majesty had given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth, as well as in writing. He complained of the insult which had been offered to his master's flag, in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also, by committing depredations on the commerce of his most Christian majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilized nations. He said, the sentiments and character of his Britannic majesty gave the king his master room to expect, that, at his return to London, he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty; but seeing that instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most Christian majesty, would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects. He, therefore, demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and mer-

chandize. He declared, that should this restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negociation for what further satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation; but if, contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe. To this preremptory remonstrance the British secretary was directed to answer, That though the king of England would readily consent to an equitable and solid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full restitution as a preliminary condition; for his majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of profound peace, and a proper regard for his own honour, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

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Answer.

Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded specious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other. The French court, conscious of their encroachments in Navo-Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particulars belonging to a disputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English, without the least provocation. They likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships, before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view. It was certainly high time to check the insolence of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration; the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the war. The ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would consider his most Christian majesty as the aggressor, and Great Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous

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than such a conjecture. The aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candour in the midst of their hostilities. The merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to the right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrify, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

The court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in Christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigour. They began to repair and fortify Dunkirk: Orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of France: Many English vessels were seized in different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison. At the same time an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase the privateers at prime cost. They employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and assembling a strong body of land-forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great Britain with a dangerous invasion.

The English people were seized with consternation: The ministry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, was ordered by his majesty to make a requisition of the six thousand men whom the states-general are obliged by treaty to furnish, when Great Britain shall be threatened with

an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose. Monsieur d'Affry, the French king's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of this demand, produced a counter memorial from his master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the states-general plainly to understand, that should they grant the succours demanded by Great Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war. Their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid. They foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality: They were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and, perhaps, enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the states-general protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the court of London perceived their intention, and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the king ordered his resident to acquaint the princess regent, that he would not insist upon his demand. The states, thus freed from their perplexity at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannic majesty for having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thrown by his first demand, and the counter memorial of the French minister. The real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the states of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels: That the threatened invasion of Great Britain did not affect the republic's guarantee of the Protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his most Christian majesty: Finally, that the succours demanded could be of no advantage to the king of England, as it appeared by the declaration of his most Christian majesty that their granting these succours would immediate-

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ly lay them under a necessity of demanding, in their turn, assistance from Great Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies, who must always be furnished with the same excuse, whenever they find it convenient or necessary to their own interest. Such a consideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the British legislature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connections, and provide such a constitutional force within itself, as will be fully sufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehensions and distraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of such a national force: But different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of such a provision. Some of the warmest friends of their country proposed a well regulated militia as an institution that would effectually answer the purpose of defending a wide extending sea-coast from invasion; while, on the other hand, this proposal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or useless by all the retainers to the court, and all the officers of the standing army. In the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy

Message to
parliament.

Towards the latter end of March, the king sent a written message to parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French court to invade Great Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, together with the language of the French ministers in some foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of such a design: That his majesty had augmented his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence: That, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared: That he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of his crown, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was no sooner

received, than both houses voted, composed and presented, very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops ; a measure which at any other time would have been stigmatised with all the satire and rhetoric of the opposition.

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Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quit the terrors of the people. In a few days Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motion for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the house of commons, that another address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of attillery, to be forthwith brought into his kingdom. There was a considerable party in the house to whom such a motion was odious and detestable : But, considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion : They, therefore, moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put upon that nation ; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority which also agreed to the other proposal. The resolution of the house was communicated to the lords, who unanimously concurred ; and their joint address being presented, his majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request. Accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom.——As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain. They were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigour. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries. There were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided ; and that the natives of South Britain had been formerly subdu-

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ed and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation. In a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people naturally blunt and jealous were inflamed to such a degree of animosity that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behaviour by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year advice was received, that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon : This was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy. They affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports ; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America ; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Douphine and Provence, in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition ; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean ; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. That great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrances of general Blakeney, deputy governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of absence, nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French arma-

ment was ready to make a descent upon that island*. C H A P

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Admiral
Byng sails
to the Me-
diterranean.

At length, the destination of the enemy's fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and, like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service, vesting the command of them in Admiral Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalize his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy: But Mr. West, the second in command, was a gentleman universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship. They sailed from Spithead on the 7th day of April, having on board, as part of their compliment, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca, about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a re-enforcement to St. Philip's fortress.

* It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honour to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman, who acted as engineer in second at Minorca, being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted. His lady, whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his children were dangerously ill of the small-pox. He recollected that the chief engineer at Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortress. His zeal for the honour and service of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderness and of nature. He expended a considerable sum of money in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other necessaries for the garrison, hired a ship for transporting them thither, and tearing himself from his wife and children, thus left among strangers, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he should be in a peculiar manner exposed to all the danger of a furious siege. In the course of this desperate service he acquitted himself with that vigilance, skill, and active courage which he had on divers other occasions displayed until the assault was given to the queen's-bastion, when mixing with the enemy sword in hand, he was disabled in the right arm by the shot of a musket and the thrust of a bayonet. His behaviour was so acceptable to his sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of colonel in the guards. He afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and descents which were made on the French coast. Though grievously maimed, he accepted the same office in the expedition to Guadalupe, where he died universally regretted.

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Arrives at
Gibraltar.

After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's force and destination; for the instructions delivered to admiral Byng imported, that on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should enquire whether any French squadron had passed through the straits; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North-America, he should immediately detach real-admiral West to Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton, with such a number of ships as, when joined with those at Halifax, would constitute a force superior to the armament of the enemy. On the 2d day of May, admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found captain Edgecumbe, with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him, that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galissoniere, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of fifteen thousand land-forces, had sailed from Toulon on the 10th day of April, and made a descent upon the island of Minorca, from whence he (captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach. General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the secretary at war, with respect to his sparing a battalion of troops to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a re-inforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent or equivocal, a council of war was consulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops should be sent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his seamen and marines, under the command of capt. Scroop, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. These articles of intelligence the admiral dispatched by an express to the lords of the admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitic expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island. He complained that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries: That the careening wharfs, pits, and storehouses were entirely decayed; so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as

well as with those which had been for some time cruising in Mediterranean. He signified his opinion, that even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved, without a land force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore, a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He observed, that such engineers and artillery men in Gibraltar as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the sally port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments. The first part of this letter was a downright impeachment of the ministry, for having delayed the expedition; for having sent out ships unfit for service; and, for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage. It cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and, as they foresaw the loss of Minorca, which would not fail to excite a national clamour, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct: For this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behaviour afforded.

The admiral, being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron. When he approached Minorca, he descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters, where the French banners were displayed. Thus informed, he detached three ships ahead, with captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for General Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was

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1756.

Engages
Gallisson-
niere.

come to his assistance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle, About six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land-wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape-Mola. At daylight, the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped, and the other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side, and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind, and closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory; but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping their station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risk of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, i Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position; a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he

would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. M. de la Galissonniere seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle: Part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuse to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy so expert in naval operations: He, therefore, took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfitted. The English admiral gave chace, but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again, so they retired at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

While he lay to with the rest of his fleet, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruizers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including captain Andrews of the *Defiance*, and about one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety: A great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation, Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men: That they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally: That, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and therefore, they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protec-

BOOK III
 1750. tion. They unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blackney it is not easy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpose. Indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared, that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the Sally-port, without running any great risque; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions, and whole paragraphs which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors. Whatever use might have been made of this letter while it remained a secret to the public we shall not pretend to explain; but sure it is, that on the 16th day of June, sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the admirals Byng and West, in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the 26th day of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired. The populace took fire like a train of the most hasty combustibles, and broke out into such a clamour of rage and indignation against the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion. This animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross. They expatiated upon the insolence, the folly, the cowardice, and misconduct of the unhappy admiral. They even presumed to make their sovereign in some measure an instrument of their calumny, by suggesting that his majesty had prognosticated Byng's misbehaviour from the contents of his first letter, dated at Gibraltar. They ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to that fortress, after his scandalous rencounter with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible

consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery or want of resolution. In a word, he was devoted as the scape-goat of the ministry, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct, the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his person in all public places of vulgar resort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

The two officers who succeeded to the command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by lord Trawley, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar, that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry, for not having understood an order which was unintelligible. By the same conveyance, a letter from the secretary to the admiralty was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire to vindicate his own conduct. His answer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misbehaved, intermixed with some puerile calculations of the enemy's superiority in weight of metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so impolitic as to hazard certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately dispatched to sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest; and an order to the same purpose was lodged at every port in the kingdom: Precautions, which, however unnecessary to secure the person of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a public trial were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West. General Fowke, and several other officers of that garrison, who were also recalled, in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have men-

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recalled.

BOOK III. tioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng, was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich Hospital.

Siege of St. Philip's

In the mean time, the siege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was prosecuted with unremitting vigour. The armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galissonniere, and the troops under the duke de Richlieu, arrived on the 18th day of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces. Two days before they reached the island, general Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle. The fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labour. Upon the whole, this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander. All these advantages, however, did not concur on this occasion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas, the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these above forty officers were absent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day-labourers; but, from their hatred to the Protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service. He recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were

now withdrawn, as soon as the enemy began to disembark their forces. At the same time major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock. Here they made a lodgement close to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, masks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars, and bombardiers. The general has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament, the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants, and the impossibility of executing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless. Some houses and windmills were actually demolished, so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for gabions and traverses. Five-and-twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort for the benefit of the garrison. The ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the centinels placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgewcombe, who then anchored in the harbour of Mahon, close under the walls of the castle, sailed away with his little squadron, consisting of the Chesterfield, Princess Louisa, Portland, and Dolphin, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine sloop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of captain Scroop, of the Dolphin, who, with great gallantry, offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signaled himself during the whole siege. The French admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbour in such a manner as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant vessels,

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which happened then to be at Mahon; but in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency, or assault, their crews and officers would have considerably reinforced. The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakness of the garrison; from which circumstances they derived the most sanguine hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege. After Mr. Edgumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and general Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sunk in the channel that leads to the harbour, the French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell to leeward of Cape Mola. Next day they came in sight again, but soon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

On the 22d day of April, the governor sent a drummer to the French with a letter general, desiring to know his reasons for invading the island. To this an answer was returned by the duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had seized and detained the ships belonging to the king of France and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers; for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the harbour, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form. On the 12th of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb-batteries, near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and, from that period, an incessant fire was kept up on both sides, from mortars, and cannon, the French continu-

ing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged. C H A P
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On the 17th day of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage. A circumstance which plainly confutes the notion of Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip's. Next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbour of Mahon. That same evening they were told by a deserter, that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Gallissonniere; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or *feu de joie*, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtly equivalent to a victory: For had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty. The case was now much altered in their favour: Their squadron cruized about the island without molestation; and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief. In the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: They removed them occasion-

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ally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution : They repaired breaches, restored merlons, and laboured with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe ; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musquetry, which fired upon them, without ceasing, from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time, they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plied incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars and four howitzers, besides the small arms : Nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subteranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot. By the 27th day of June, they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and a eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land-side. At the same time a strong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the creek, called St. Stephen's Cove, to storm Fort Charles, and second the attack upon Fort Marlborough, on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the duke de Richelieu, is said to have lead them up to the works in person. Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter : They were mowed down, as they approached, with grape-shot and musquetry ; and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the glacis was almost covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution ; and, though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place, or to the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison : For Lieutenant-Colonel Jefferies, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post, was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity : He

was run through the arm with a bayonet, and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled.

The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the Queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been dislodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose, before they had leisure to secure themselves, the duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead, and remove the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion, inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines, which communicated with all the other outworks. During this short cessation, general Blakeney summoned a council of war, to deliberate upon the state of the fort and garrison; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted; the embrasures and parapets demolished; the pallisadoes broke in pieces; the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications. Besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the marshal duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation. But this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: That no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: That the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: That the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: That they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before

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they could pass the fossé, which was furnished with mines and countermines: Finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made. This it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French general was said to have lost five thousand men in the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of three thousand men, did not exceed one hundred. The capitulation imported, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt; but the English troops remained in the other works till the 7th day of July, when they embarked. In the mean time, reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed, than Monsieur de la Galissonniere sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbour of Mahon, since the fort of St. Philip's was first invested. In all probability the safety of himself and his whole squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England, when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island; but by this time Gallissonniere was retired, and the English admiral had the mortification to see the French colours flying upon St. Philip's castle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruize round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron; but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery as no fortification could long withstand. Indeed, if the garrison had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might have been made, that the assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprise.

When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles, by the count of Egmont, whom the duke de Richelieu had dispatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy. Nothing was seen but triumphs and processions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph for an advantage, which, in more vigorous times, would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*. Nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause, and contemptuous comparison. This must be condemned as a proof of immanly arrogance, and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England, as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited an universal clamour of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French, squadron; but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca. Nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that, in case the arms of Great Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French king might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the sovereign's councils.

Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering La Galissonniere, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated

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the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war to insist, in a peremptory manner on the release of the ship's effects, crew, and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the Admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed upon their boasted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the *St. George* privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebec, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult: Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebec were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalized himself by many other exploits had not he, in the sequel, been overtaken, in the midst of his career, by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay, for the protection of our commerce, which in those parts soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived, with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: Every place through which he passed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations: Every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in

in the castle of St. Philip. In a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney, increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: The first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-interest and deceit. The sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the servant. Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish baron, in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favour, as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

In the beginning of the year the measures taken by the government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard ships and cruizers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A considerable number of new troops was levied: The success in recruiting was not only promoted by the landholders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependants to engage in the service, but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of labourers to such distress that some insurrections were raised, and many enlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn. New ships of war were built, and daily put in commission, but it was found impracticable to man them without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people. Notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo upon all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publicly offered to those who should discover where any seamen lay concealed: So that those unhappy people were in some respects treated like fe-

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lons, dragged from their families and connections to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expence of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favour of their ungrateful country*.

About eighty ships of the line, and three-score frigates, where already equipped, and considerable bodies of land forces assembled, when on the 3d day of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers, civil and military, upon the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land upon the coasts of the kingdom, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, or cattle- which might be fit for draft or burden, and not actually employed in the king's service, or in the defence of the country, and also (so far as might be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made, and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt ; regard being had, however that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the public safety.

As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North-America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impressions could be made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither under the conduct of general Abercrombie, appointed as successor to general Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person noways qualified to conduct military operations : Nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the earl of Loudon, a nobleman of amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Over and about his command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American

* At this juncture a number of public spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves in a very laudable association, under the name of the *Marine Society*, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy. In consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the bane and the reproach, without this humane interposition.

regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Amhercrombie set sail for America in March; but the earl of Loudon, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

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All these previous measures being taken, his majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war * against the French king, importing, That, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the usurpations and encroachments made upon the Bri-

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* When the French ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately dispatched to the English governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard the lands on the Ohio, to put, without delay, matters on the same footing on which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commissaries at Paris. the British court agreed to the cessation of hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draft of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal. At length the ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Laurence, and the lakes that discharge themselves into that river; cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the bay of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; but this was amply refused in another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at the very opening of the commission established in Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North America, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax, had not they been prevented: That the like hostilities were committed upon his Britannic majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the governors appointed by the French king, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading; seized their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France; invaded the territories Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontiers, and, to secure their usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded: That this Britannic majesty had complained of these hostilities to the court of Versailles, but without effect; so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and, as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful, or irreconcilable with the assurance of his majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motive of self-defence had forced him to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive the court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

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tish territories in America had been notorious : That his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction ; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French king, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West-Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences : That the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke in open acts of hostility in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four ; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in an hostile manner, and took possession of an English fort on the river Ohio in North-America : The great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for that country : That although the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse, and gain time for the passage of these supplies and reinforcements, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambition and oppressive projects into execution : That, in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the king of Great-Britain for preventing the success of such a dangerous design, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea-coasts of France, and British dominions threatened with an invasion : That though the king of England, in order to frustrate these intentions, had given orders for seizing at sea the ships of the French king and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation ; but it being at last evident, from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and

carry on the war with the utmost violence, his Britannic majesty could no longer, consistently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which, from a desire of peace, he had hitherto observed. A denunciation of war followed in the usual form, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects.

In the beginning of June, the French king declared war in his turn against his Britannic majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon asperity. He artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded. He insisted on the attack made by the king of England, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, on the French possessions in North America; and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed to the most rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed upon the French ambassador with false protestations, orders diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America; That while the court of London, employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidies of England, to instigate other powers against France, his most christian majesty did not even ask of those powers the succours which guarantees and defensive treaties authorised him to demand; but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: That while the English navy, by the most odious violences, and sometimes by the vilest artifices, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full security under the safeguard of public faith, his most christian majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron, and British vessels traded to the ports of France without molestation: That the striking contract formed by these different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe

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that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition, and avarice ; and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honour, justice, and moderation : That the vague imputations contained in the king of England's declaration, had in reality no foundation ; and the very manner in which they were set forth would prove their futility and falsehood : That the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempt to deceive mankind into a belief, that these were the points which determined the king of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels ; whereas, the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron ; and depredations had been committed six months upon the subjects of France before the first battalions began their march for the sea-side. In a word, the most Christian king, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people value themselves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge conveyed in such reproachful terms, against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations, and at the same time conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry. For, after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insolence and encroachments.

Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe. They cheerfully contributed to the expence of armaments*, and seemed to approve of their destination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of

* Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ships and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, exposed to public sale, and their produce lodged in the Bank ; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large sum, was distributed or employed, we have not been able to discover.

Braddock, and the loss of Minorca. The last event made a deep impression upon the minds of the community. An address was presented to the king by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry. They expressed their apprehension, that the loss of the important fortress of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain, without any attempt by timely and effectual succours to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so evidently superior to their's, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British nation. They expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They lamented the want of a constitutional well regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever. They signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected, and brought to condign punishment: That his majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies, so necessarily demanded, and so chearfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance, of their inveterate and perfidious enemies, the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace. In answer to this address, the king assured them, that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for enquiry and justice.

The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate general Fowke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office, till that period when he fell under the

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displeasure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the secretary of war in three successive letters*, touching the relief of Minorca. Mr. Fowke alledged in his

* To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, or, in his absence, to the commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison of Gibraltar.

S I R,

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt upon his majesty's island of Minorca, it is his majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am,

Your humble servant,

B.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

S I R.

War-Office, March 26, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure, in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet at the disposition of the admiral: such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison in Gibraltar.

S I R,

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

It is his majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, or the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

S I R,

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

I wrote to you by general Stewart: If that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of seven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guise's and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been complied with, then you are to make only one detachment of seven hundred men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbour, and keep them in readiness for any further transportation of troops. I have also his Royal Highness the duke of Cumberland's commands, to desire that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible during this critical time, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

own defence, that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power : That the whole number of his garrison did not exceed two thousand six hundred men, after he had spared two hundred and seventy-five to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe : That the ordinary duty of the garrison requiring eight hundred men, the whole number was not sufficient for three reliefs : That, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which he did not think himself at liberty to mention : That his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between thirteen and sixteen thousand men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbour, the sending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent. He observed, that supposing the orders to have been positive, and seven hundred men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded one thousand five hundred and fifty-six : A deduction of seven hundred more, according to the order of May the 12th, would have left a remainder of eight hundred and fifty-six : That the men daily on duty in the garrison, including artificers and labourers in the king's works, amounted to eight hundred and thirty-nine; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men over and above the number necessary for the daily work of the garrison. Thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been left almost naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent a-board, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to General Fowke to detain all empty vessels, for a further transportation of troops, seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison, and abandon the place. It seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the general to keep his garrison as alert as possible, during that critical time; inasmuch as it would have been impossible for the men to have enjoyed the

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least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other assistance it might have been in the governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not easy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his majesty thought fit to dismiss from his service.

The expectation of the public was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief if not the sole scene of our military operations. On the 25th day of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New-York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported which England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained in New-York, the New-Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New-England. Those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontier from the French and Indians, who in skulking parties, made sudden irruptions upon their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity. As for South-Carolina, the proportion of negro slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprise. The plan of this undertaking had been settled the preceding year in a council of war held at New-York. There it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio; to reduce Ticonderago and Crown-Point, so that the frontier of New-York, might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the

forces might be transported in any future attempt; to besiege Fort Du Quesne upon the Ohio; and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared: The season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England; the different colonies were divided in their opinions, and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of lord Loudon, who was daily expected. The reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost, by the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year, afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack, and in the mean time, to proceed unmolested in distressing the British settlements. Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country of the five nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great Britain had long numbered among her allies.

Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores, for the garrison of Oswego, would in a little time set out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valour of colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly. On the 3d day of July, while he stemmed the stream of the river with his batteaux, formed into three divisions, they were saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musquetry from the north shore. Bradstreet immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed. Another body having passed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head

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of two hundred men, and fell upon them, sword in hand with such vigour, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the river with such precipitation, that a considerable number of them were drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were entirely routed and dispersed. In this action, which lasted near three hours, about seventy of the batteau-men, were killed or wounded: But the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners. In all probability the whole detachment of French, amounting to seven hundred men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interposed, and disabled, colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by captain Patten, with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning reinforced with two hundred men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego; but by this time the rivulets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets. Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage, to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements, to besiege the fort of Oswego.

In consequence of this information, major-general Webb, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison; but, before they could be provided with necessaries, the earl of Loudon arrived at the head-quarters at Albany, on the 29th day of July. The army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of two thousand six hundred, about seven thousand provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort William-Henry, under the command of general Winslow, over and above a considerable number of batteau-men at Albany and Schenectady. The garrison at Oswego amounted to fourteen hundred soldiers, besides three hundred workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and a place called Burnet's-field, to secure a safe

passage through the country of the six nations, upon whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about three thousand men at Crown Point and Ticonderago upon the lake Champlain; but their chief strength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpose undoubtedly was to reduce the English fort at Oswego. The immediate object, therefore, of lord Loudon's attention was the relief of this place; but his design was strenuously opposed by the province of New-York, and other northern governments, who were much more intent upon the reduction of Crown Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest. They insisted upon Winslow's being joined by some regiments of regular troops before he should march against this fortress; and stipulated that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprize and be defeated. At length they agreed that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had destined for that purpose should be detached to the relief of Oswego; and on the 12th day of August, major general Webb, began his march with it from Albany; but on his arrival at the carrying-place, between the Mohock's river and Wood's-creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the besieging army, began immediately to render the creek impassable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a like visitation from him, took the very same method of preventing his approach: In consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune. They were erected on the south side of the great lake Ontario, standing on opposite sides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that discharged itself into the lake, and constituted a port of great importance, where vessels had been built, to cruise upon the lake, which is a kind of inland sea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions or designs of the enemy. The garrison, as we have already observed, consisted of fourteen hundred men chiefly militia and new raised recruits, un-

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der the command lieutenant-colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience; but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber, or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived, and unfinished; and in a word the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce. Being under no apprehension for Crown-Point, they assembled a body of troops, consisting of thirteen hundred regulars, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted by the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succour and intelligence. In the mean time, he embarked his artillery and stores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous. At another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels, and on the the twelfth day of August, at midnight, after his dispositions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort Ontario. The garrison having fired away all their shells and ammunition, spiked up the cannon, and deserting the fort, retired next day across the river into Oswego, which was even more exposed than the other, especially when the enemy had taken possession of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermission. Colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon-ball, the fort destitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrison in confusion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. These conditions, however, the marquis did not punctually observe. The British officers and soldiers were insulted by the savage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, massacred several men, as they stood defenceless on the parade, assassinated lieutenant de la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarously scalped all the sick people in the hospital: Finally Montcalm, in direct violation of

the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege; and, in all probability, these miserable captives were put to death by those barbarians with the excruciating tortures, according to the execrable custom of the country. Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature shudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous to all posterity. Such, however, were the trophies that, in the course of the American war, distinguished the operations of a people who pique themselves upon politeness, and the virtues of humanity. The prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in bateaux to Montreal, where they had no reason to complain of their reception; and, before the end of the year, they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts (if they deserved that denomination) in which they found one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops, and two hundred bateaux, which likewise fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, deposited, in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct.

The earl of Loudon, finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, exerted all his endeavours in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, in securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming an uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests, and other sources of dissention. Meanwhile, the forts Edward and William-Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons; and the forces put into winter-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose. Fort. Granville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable blockhouse, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two-and-twenty soldiers, with a few women and children. These they loaded with flour and provision, and drove into captivity; but the fort they reduced to ashes. Many ~~stock-~~

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ing murders were perpetrated upon defenceless people without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers; but these outrages were in some measure balanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell upon the river Susquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province. At the same time, the governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbias, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring three thousand fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores was sent to that country in fourteen transports, under convoy of two ships of war, which sailed from Cork, in Ireland, about the beginning of November.

No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America. In the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc-en-Ciel*, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near six hundred men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison. He likewise made prize of another French ship, with seventy soldiers, two hundred barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. On the 27th day of July Commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute. A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West-India islands belonging to the crown of great Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruizer proved very advantageous to adventurers.

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East-Indies.

Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East-Indies. The cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and

commerce. Major Laurance, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy ; and prosecuted his success with such vigour, as, in all probability, would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish, when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained ; for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

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The old suba or viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, dying in the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability, his design against the English settlements was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure ; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous. In the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzar to be invested ; and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner ; then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence.

The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlements took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. Then he was obliged to submit ; and the suba, or viceroy, promised on the word of a foldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they

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were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black-Hole, prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty. Transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavoured to force open the door, that they might rush upon the swords of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded; but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once shut upon them, the crowd pressed upon it so strongly as to render all their endeavours abortive: Then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a Jem-mautdaar, or serjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compassion, by drawing a pathetic picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment. The soldier, allured by the promise of such a reward, assured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpose; but, in a few minutes, returned, and told him, that the suba, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. By this time, a profuse sweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture. In vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing undulation. Many were unable to rise again from this posture; but, falling down, were trode to death, or suffocated. The dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath. Their despair became outrageous: Again they attempted to force

the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execration and abuse. The cry of "Water! Water!" issued from every mouth. Even the Jemautdaar was moved to compassion at their distress. He ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enlarge the appetite, and increase the general agitation. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who, at sight of it, struggled, and raved even into fits of delirium. In consequence of these contests, very little reached those who stood nearest the windows, while the rest, at the farther end of the prison, were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To those who were indulged, it proved pernicious; for instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more. The confusion became general and horrid: All was clamour and contest: Those who were at a distance endeavoured to force their passage to the window, and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again. The inhuman russians without derived entertainment from their misery: They supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars, that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell, seeing all his particular friends lying dead round him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character: They forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded so much; because, by this time, about one third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and lying down upon some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to heaven. Here his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty in breathing increased, and he was seized with a strong palpitation. These violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urg-

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ed him to make another effort : He forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, " Water ! for God's sake !" He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions ; but, finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person. " Give him water," they cried ; nor would one of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceased : But finding himself still more thirsty after drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time, by sucking the perspiration from his shirt-sleeves *. The miserable prisoners, perceiving that water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, loading the suba and his governor with the most virulent reproach. From railing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching heaven to put an end to their misery. They now began to drop on all hands ; but then a steam arose from the living, and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirit of hartshorn ; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the Rev. Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who, together with his son, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace. In this situation he was soon deprived of sense, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke, when his body was discovered, and removed by his surviving friends to one of the windows, where the fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, enquired if the chief was alive ; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive.

Nor was the late deliverance, even of these few, owing to any sentiment of compassion in the viceroy. He had received intimation, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever immediately upon their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhu-

* In his despair of obtaining water this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine ; but found it intolerably bitter ; whereas the moisture that flowed from the pores of his body was soft, pleasant, and refreshing.

man Suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit. Mr Holwell, and three of his friends, were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles to the Indian camp, where they lay all night, exposed to a severe rain: Next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadabad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he peruse the particulars. At Muxadabad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length, the suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf; and as that prince was by this time convinced that there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be set at liberty. When some of his sycophants opposed this indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied with some marks of compunction and generosity, "If he has any thing left, let him keep it; his sufferings have been great, he shall have his liberty." Mr. Holwell and his friends were no sooner unfettered than they took water for the Dutch Tankfall or mint, in the neighbourhood of the city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularised a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The suba having destroyed Calcutta and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his oppression, and returned to the city of Muxadabad in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprizes were always crowned with success.

As the English East India company had, for a whole century, been at a considerable expence in maintaining

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a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighbourhood: many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce the fortrefs under which they always took shelter. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning prince, attacked three Dutch ships of force, which they either took or destroyed. Elated with this success, he boasted that he should in a little time sweep the seas of the Europeans, and began to build some large ships, to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the vessels on which he had formerly depended. Next year his neighbours, the Mahrattas, having signified to the presidency at Bombay, that they were disposed to join in the necessary service of humbling this common enemy, so formidable to the whole Malabar coast, commodore James was detached with some ships of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with those allies. They accordingly joined him with seven grabs and sixty gallivats. They proceeded to the harbour of Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor; but they no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than they slipped their cables, and stood out to sea. He chased them with all the canvass he could carry; but their vessels being lighter than his, they escaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortrefs situated on an island within musket shot of the main land, strongly, but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon. There were three other small forts on the continent, the largest of which was called Goa. On the second day of April, the commodore began to batter and bombard the island, fort, and Fort Goa, at the same time. That of Severndroog was set on fire: One of the Magazines blew up: A general conflagration ensued: The garrison were overwhelmed with fire and confusion: The English seamen landed under cover of the fire from the ships, and took the place by storm with very little loss. The other forts were immediately surrendered, and all of these by treaty delivered to the Mahrattas. On the 8th of April, the commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the most northern parts of Angria's dominions, which surrendered without opposition, and still remains in the hands of the English East India company, by the consent of the Mahrattas. The harbour

is good, and here is a great trade for salt and other commodities sent hither from Bombay. C H A P
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It was in November following, that the squadron under admiral Watson arrived at Bombay, where it was resolved to give Angria the finishing stroke, still in conjunction with the Mahrattas. Mean while, commodore James was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to sound the depth of the harbour; a service which he successfully performed. The admiral being joined by a division of ships, fitted out at the company's expence, having on board a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive, sailed on the 7th day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, consisting of four grabs, and forty smaller vessels, called gallivats lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land army of horse and foot, amounting to seven or eight thousand men; the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah. Angria himself had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender by a message from the admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. In consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet, in two divisions, sailed on the 12th day of February into the harbour, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed, as well as from the grabs posted in the harbour for that purpose: This, however, was soon silenced, after the ships were brought to their stations, so as to return the salutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire; and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed; between six and seven the fort was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral, suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender it to the Mahrattas rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in case of emergency, to take possession. In the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral sent an officer, with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to surrender. His proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire

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next day with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock, the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that ensued proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five when the white flag was again displayed, and now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed. Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English captains taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign. To these captains, whose names were Buchanan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of fifty thousand rupees, if they would allow them to pass their guard, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place which was reduced with very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above two hundred cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. The fleet which had been destroyed consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two upon the stocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the prisoners the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himself with great humanity. Three hundred European soldiers, and as many sepoy, were left to guard the fort; and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce.

The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal. In October, they set sail again for the bottom of the bay; and, about the beginning of December, arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. Having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested. Colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces, to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the admiral battered it by sea: But the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a ve-

ry easy purchase two of the great ships anchored between Tanua fort and a battery on the other side of the river which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either ; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

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Causes of the German war—Manifestoes published by the different powers—Operations in Saxony and Bohemia—Battle of Lowoschütz—Surrender of the Saxon army—Memorials and manifestoes of different powers—Parliamentary transactions—Trial and execution of Admiral Byng.

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HAVING, thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event in which Great Britain was concerned, either at home or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany which then seemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannic majesty to provide for the safety of his electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who, he foresaw, would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He at that time stood upon indifferent terms with the king of Prussia, who was considered as a partizan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists. In this emergency, he had recourse to the empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of Hanover. His Prussian majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare, that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries; a declaration which probably flowed from a jealousy and

aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburg, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risque of being restricted or controlled. He knew he should give umbrage to the French king, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia: But he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connections with France for an alliance with Great Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: Indeed, such an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration. Had his Britannic majesty made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the czarina, he did not know how soon the king of Prussia might be reconciled to his most christian majesty's design of invasion. As for the empress-queen, her attention was engrossed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands so full, that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and firmest allies. In these circumstances, the king of England sought and obtained the alliance of Prussia, which, to the best of our comprehension, entailed upon Great Britain the enormous burden of extravagant subsidies, together with the intolerable expence of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage, either positive or negative, to England or Hanover: On the contrary, this connection threw the empress-queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she bought at the expence of the barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: It gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes, sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run, and subdued by the enemy; and the king of Prussia put to the ban of the empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the resolution which his Prussian majesty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall presently explain. In the meantime, the defensive treaty between the empress-queen

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and France was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg, to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the empress of Russia accordingly embraced; a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence, but their Catholic, and Sardinian majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality. At the same time, intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavours succeeded in the sequel even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign. At present a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the king or queen was at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the diet, that he threatened to resign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This design was extremely disagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the diet, by whom they conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

Measures
taken by
the king of
Prussia,
empress-
queen, and
elector of
Hanover.

The king of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the house of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the Protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans. The cry of religion was no impolitic measure; but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past. Religion was made a pretence on both sides: For the parties of the empress-queen insinuated on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia. It was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannic Majesty ordered his electoral minister at the diet to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expres-

sing his surprize to find the treaty he had concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied by the empress-queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the empire, who even seemed disposed to favour such a diversion; he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquility in the empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the king of Prussia: That, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the empress-queen, and performed the part which the head of the empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: That, time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the empress-queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissention among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge. His most christian majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprize the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: That, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeable to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: Finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression upon the king of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute

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his purpose. What his original plan might have been we shall not pretend to disclose ; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword, and commencing hostilities. The empress-queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia; in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened. She caballed against him in different courts of Europe : She concluded a treaty with the czarina, which, though seemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests upon this monarch : She endeavoured to engage the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy ; and if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbour of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns to indemnify him for the expence of this expedition : But he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburg, though it was expressly defensive ; the *casus fœderis* being his Prussian majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, That Count de Bruhl, prime minister and favourite of the king of Poland, had in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the king of Prussia with the empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

His Prussian majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negotiations with different powers in Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, minister at the Imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war on the frontiers of Silesia, were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial majesty ? To this demand the empress replied. That, in the present juncture, she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own

defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The king, far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, That after the king had dissembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honour, the bad designs imputed to the empress, would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments: That he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburg: That he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support: That he constituted the empress arbiter of peace or war: If she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witness, that the empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her Imperial majesty, whose answer he soon received, to this effect: That his majesty the king of Prussia had already been employed, for some time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions, dispositions on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian majesty had been made: That though her majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects, which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare, with her own mouth to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that, in other respects, they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: That her Imperial majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise, that it be-

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longed to none but herself to estimate her own danger : That her declaration was so clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise : That being accustomed to receive, as well as to practise the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility, the contents of the memorial now presented by M. de Klingraafe ; so extraordinary, both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents : Nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian majesty, of an offensive alliance against him, subsisting between herself and the empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged ; for no such treaty did exist, or ever had existed. She concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced ; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her Imperial majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or at least not suitable to the purposes of the king of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the empress-queen would sign a positive assurance, that she would not attack his Prussian majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured ; a treaty which the empress-queen had no intention to violate. But, before an answer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna believing that the king of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere ; being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed ; unwilling to lay themselves under further restrictions ; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risque of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the course of the war for that part of Silesia which the

queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Bre-
flau.

Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the king of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations and the storm first fell upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was connected with the czarina and the empress-queen; therefore, he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing, That the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against his majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects: That for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the defence and security of his subjects. He reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared, that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprizes had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated; but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish majesty, or his dominions: That his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they should observe the best order, and the most exact discipline: That he desired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred depositum. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Sax-

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on dominions; and this the king of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose. But these formalities did not at all suit with his Prussian majesty's disposition or design. Even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of prince Ferdinand, brother to the duke of Brunswick, took possession of Leipfick on the 20th day of September. Here he published a declaration, signifying, that it was his Prussian majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own subjects, and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the king of Prussia, then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

The king of Poland, apprehensive of such an visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the king of Poland repaired, with his two sons Xaverius and Charles; but the queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of this capital his Prussian majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on the 8th day of September, when he was visited by Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by count Salmour, a Saxon minister, who in his master's name, proposed a neutrality. The king of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the king of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Polish majesty did not like to be tutored in his own dominions; he depended for his own safety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus assembled, than upon the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his

camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In CHAP.
 the mean time, the king of Prussia fixed his head-quar- V.
 ters at Seidlitz, about half a German league distant
 from Pirna, and posted his army in such a manner as
 to be able to intercept all convoys of provision design-
 ed for the Saxon camp. His forces extended on the
 right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the van-
 guard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles
 of Satzer and Leutmeritz in that kingdom; while
 Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body
 of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last
 place without opposition. At the same time, the king
 covered his own dominions, by assembling two consi-
 derable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occu-
 pied the passes that communicated with the circles of
 Buntzlau and Konigsgratz. Hostilities were com-
 menced on the 13th day of September by a detachment
 of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escorte to
 a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp;
 and having routed them, carried off a considerable
 number of loaded waggons. The magazines at Dres-
 den were filled with an immense quantity of provision
 and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were
 ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which
 purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the
 king of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at
 the house of the countess Meczinska; and gave orders
 that the queen and royal family of Poland should be
 treated with all due veneration and respect*: Even

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* His majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish majesty's queen, and the court of Vienna, who affirmed, that centinels were posted within the palace where the queen and royal family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited. The keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the king of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the queen entreated this prince to remove the centinels posted within the palace, and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances, that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the king ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her majesty the keys of the secret cabinet. The queen obtained this officer's consent, that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open; then her majesty placing herself before the door, said, she trusted so much to the promise of the king of Prussia, that she could not believe that he had given such orders. The officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the king with what had passed, her majesty conjured the ministers of Prussia and England to remind his majesty of his promise, but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders

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chutz.

while the Saxon camp was blocked up on every side he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested for the use of his Polish majesty.

During these transactions the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Marschal Keith †, who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession all the passes, and encamped near Aufsig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian majesty having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of Marschal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the 29th day of September, he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowofchutz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowofchutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the 1st day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowofchutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: He had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowofchutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about two thousand croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog which vanished about seven: Then the Prussian cavalry advanced

to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person. The queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew: The doors were forced, the chests broke open, and all the papers seized.

† Brother to the Earl Marschal of Scotland, a gentleman who had signalized himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his genius, than amiable in his disposition.

to attack the enemy's horse, but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon. There being formed, and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars and other bodies of infantry from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed : But they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the king ordered them to re-ascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time, a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides with considerable effect. At length, the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank ; but met with a very warm reception, and, in all likelihood, would have miscarried, had not Veldt-Mareschal Keith headed them in person ; When he drew his sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand, that all their powder and shot was exhausted ; he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy would not withstand them at push of bayonet ; so saying, he advanced at their head, and driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire. Their infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right ; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra. Some prisoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both sides ; and the loss of each might amount to two thousand five hundred killed and wounded : So that, on the whole it, was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares that the king of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head quarters at Lowoschutz : Whereas the Austrian gazette affirms, that the Mareschal Count Brown obliged his Prussian majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle ; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians ; for his Prussian majesty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

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The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensibly necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the king of Prussia. The former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected. On the 14th day of October, the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, they made little progress. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortress of Konigstein, sent a letter to his general, the Veldt Marechal count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary powers to surrender, or take such other measures as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers *. By this time count Brown had retired

* The letter was to the following effect :

“ Velt-Marechal count Rutowski,

“ IT is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation, which a chain of misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army : But we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand by major-general the baron de Dyheren, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances, are become more necessitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch ; such I live ; such I will die ; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion. Let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine. May your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity : Whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them : And I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Marechal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein the 14th of October, 1756,

AUGUSTUS, Rex.”

To the Velt-Marechal the count
Rutowski.

to Buddin, so that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded : But, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion ; and the soldiers were afterwards by compulsion incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The king of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety and retired with all expedition to Poland. His Prussian majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters cantonnement ; so this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

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The king of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers His minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the states-general, complaining, that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independency. He observed, that, from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality. He represented, that a free and neutral state had been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who disguised himself under the masque of friendship, without alledging the least complaint, or any pretension whatsoever ; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some, and fortifying others : That he had disarmed the burghers ; carried off the magistrates, as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage ; seized the coffers, confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arsenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh ; abolished the privy-council, and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the

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unheard-of treatment which was reserved for a queen, whose virtues ought to have commanded respect, even from her enemies : That, from the hands of that august princess, the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws, human and divine ; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the king of Prussia, that not only her person, and the place of her residence, should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction. He observed, that a prince, who declared himself protector of the Protestant religion, had begun the war, by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment, and preservation of its most invaluable rights : That he had broke through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanic body, under colour of a defence which the empire stood in no need of, except against himself : That the king of Prussia, while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the sacrifice of his whole electorate ; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to alledge even any pretext to colour the usurpation of his territories and revenues—Though this was certainly the case, in his Prussian majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied, in a subsequent memorial to the states-general ; in which he charged the king of Poland as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to the treaty of Petersburg ; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appear to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

Imperial
decrees a-
gainst the
king of
Prussia.

While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three Imperial decrees were published against his Prussian majesty: The first, summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: The second, commanding all the vassals of the empire, employed by the king of Prussia, to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to suffer any levies of soldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raised within their re-

spective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the king of England, to excite in the empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most Christian majesty, in consequence of his engegement with the empress-queen, and many other princes of the empire, being resolved to succour them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body. On the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the diet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands, of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden, for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing upon him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole empire.

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About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the states-general a declaration from his mistress, importing, that her Imperial majesty having seen a memorial presented at the court of Vienna by the king of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the empress-queen; in which case, she (the czarina) was inevitably obliged to succour her ally with all her forces; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march: That, moreover, the Russian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a sufficient number of gallies for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The ministers of the empress-queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the states-general and his Britannic majesty, demanding the succours which these two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their high mightinesses kept warily aloof, by dint of evasion, and the king of Great Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the king and queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits, which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger. The

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Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles ; and directions were dispatched to the French minister at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French king, regulating the succours to be derived from that quarter : He claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body, as guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, and treaty of Dresden ; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

The king of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction. He affirmed, That the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project : That they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions : That they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He said, he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions : That in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increase the number of his enemies. He asserted, That all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation : That he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him ; and this had been done with all possible moderation : That the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline : That all due respect was shown to the queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the paper office, of which his Prussian majesty already had copies ; and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Sax-

on ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied. He observed, that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author: and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire, could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favour.

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But the most important step which his Prussian majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian majesty affirms, That to arrive at the source of the vast plan upon which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: That the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the success of the campaign in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating, that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; while the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croissen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: That after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: Yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed: But this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the empress-queen and the czarina. Accordingly, these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburgh in the course of the ensuing year: But the body or ostensible part of this treaty was composed

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merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public six secret articles, the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it which appeared among the documents. In this article, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation, that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden: But explains her real way of thinking upon the subject, a little lower, in the following terms: "If the king of Prussia should be the first to depart from this peace, by attacking either her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majesty the empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland; in all these cases the rights of the empress-queen to Silesia and the county of Glatz would again take place, and recover their full effect: The two contracting parties should mutually assist each other with sixty thousand men to achieve these conquests." The king observes upon this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republic of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the king lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: That, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorized to do in such cases, would be to send those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence, on that account to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the king: He appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the king of Prussia. He affirmed, it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the king to commence hostilities, against her, or to kindle a war between his majesty and Russia, by her secret intrigues and machinations. He alledged, that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; fur-

nished its ministers at Petersburgh with full powers for that purpose ; and ordered them to declare, that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia, and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made : That the court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, the empress-queen should, by their assistance, not only reconquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the empress-queen. He also declared, that count Lofs, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipfick, signed on the 18th day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the king of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna ; but he insisted, that even in this case the king of Poland could have on right to make conquests on his Prussian majesty. He likewise acknowledged, that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh ; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risque ; and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favour : Circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, informing him, that count Uhlefeld had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia : That Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed : That it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements upon the footing proposed by the late count de Harrach, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five ; a step which might be taken on occasion of his Polish majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersbnrgh. The answer of count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, That

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the king of Poland was not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the court of Vienna about succours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which, in this case, ought to be granted to his majesty. He quoted other dispatches, to prove the unwillingness of his Polish majesty to declare himself, until the king of Prussia should be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premisses he deduced this inference, that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risque, concur in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he said, the Austrian and Saxon ministers laboured, in concert and underhand, with the more ardour, to bring the *casus fæderis* into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorize the empress-queen to retake Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the king with the empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the czarina: sometimes views upon Poland, and sometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, she had resolved to attack the king of Prussia, without any further discussion, whether he should fall upon any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him: A resolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued, under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the king of Prussia.

This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partizans of her Imperial majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity; but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed, that both sides adopted illicit practices. The empress-queen and the elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprizes of such a formidable neighbour; but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much further than defensive measures. Perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and, therefore, not binding against the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt, that the king of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power, to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden; and, in that case, she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch; and, in all probability, the king of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great sums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine; but it does not at all appear, that his Prussian majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify.

By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the empire with ruin and desolation; and the king of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former animosities, and every consideration of that balance which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction. The king himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert;

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but probably he confided so much in the number, the valour, and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her assistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the empress-queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the empire. He saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great Britain. Thus the king of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the empress-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connection with his Prussian majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connection, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

About the latter end of November, the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring a fresh the assistance of the empire. The king of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding succour of the several states, agreeably to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden; but the minister of Mentz, as director of the the diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for further instructions. In the mean time, his Prussian majesty thought proper to intimate to the king and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation.

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between the
parliament
of Paris and
the clergy.

In France, the prospect of general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissention between the clergy and parliament, touching the bull *Unigenitus*. The king being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the Pope, laying it down as a

fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull *Unigenitus* is in the way to damnation; and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniences with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The king dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace. Accordingly, on the 12th day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris; and next day the king repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held; among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*.

In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependents. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the

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innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January; but the rigour of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences: An humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

On the second day of December, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared that the succour and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and sollicitude; and observed, that the growing danger to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and, in this great view, he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: For this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament, the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice, that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the Protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand, that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and realm. He told the commons, that he confided in their wisdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though

more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war : That he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public ; and it was their duty to lay the burthens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise ; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean, had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown ; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

The king having retired from the house of peers, the speech was read by lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that house : Then earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it, his majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament ; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session. They said, they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the lords ; a satisfaction they could not have, if such a paragraph should be inserted : For they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure ; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expence, but also furnished the court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack ; besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

In the address of the commons, no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the speaker had recited his majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the house unanimously agreed ; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the house, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence suitable

to such an assembly, resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that so much distressed the poorer class of people. A bill was immediately framed, to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities, to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. At the same time, vice-admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the house, that the king and the board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: That although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as admiral Byng was then a member of the house, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a respect due to the house to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the house in relation to rear-admiral Knowles* was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

* Rear-Admiral Knowles being, in the month of December one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Dartford, before a court martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the 21st day of October in the preceding year, between a British Squadron under his command, and a Squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his Squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: That the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the Squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word *Negligence*, and no other; and also under the twenty third article.—The court therefore unanimously adjudged, that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the Squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

The committee of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his majesty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea-service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land service, forty-nine thousand seven hundred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordinance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia; for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign* armies, as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year†; for maintaining and supporting the new settle-

* Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the head of the empire who, in the sequel, stigmatized these two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

† This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community; but since the liberality of parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented, without question or limitation, the yearly expence hath swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated. Instead of an asylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for economy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation. The hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

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ment of Nova-Scotia ; for repairing and finishing military roads ; for making good his majesty's engagements with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; for the expence of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain ; for empowering his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require ; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for such services as, with the approbation of his majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigour against the enemy ; for enabling the East India company to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories ; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa ; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster*. Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds nine shillings and three-pence. It must be acknowledged for the honour of the administration, that the house of commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit. The sums granted by the committee of supply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred twenty-five pounds nine shillings and three-pence ; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand

* The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament. It was built at the public expence, from the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

fifty-one pounds nineteen shillings and seven-pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds ten shillings and four-pence; an excess which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

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Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea, and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependents of the ministry, who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connection with Great Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied, That every state, in assisting an ally, ought to have a regard to his own preservation: That if the king of England enjoyed by inheritance, or succession, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain that they suffered for their connection with England. They observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany, were secured by the constitutions of the empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great Britain: That the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions, flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, and not only draw her sword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence: That exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred since the accession of the late king had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally

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foreign to the interest of these kingdoms : That, since Hanover was the favourite object, England would save money, and great quantities of British blood, by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain, an expedient that would be productive of another good consequence ; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigour, in order to avoid the detested neighbourhood of such an enterprizing invader.

The article of the supply, relating to the army of observation, took rise from a message signed by his majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal secretary of state ; a gentleman who had, upon sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connections with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the house an intimation, importing, it was always with reluctance that his majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people ; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies, threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequences ; and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would chearfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian majesty for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the emperor and all the princes in Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and they will, nodoubt, be surpris'd, that Great Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succour, whatever assistance he might demand. The king's message met with as favourable a reception as he could have desired. It was read in the house of commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declara-

tion signed on each side by the plenipotentiaries at Westminster : The request was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the 17th day of May, by lord Bateman, intimating, that, in this critical juncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them ; his majesty was, therefore, desirous that the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year ; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like message being at the same time communicated to the upper house, their lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion ; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

We have already observed, that the first bill which the commons passed in this session was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported ; as also permitting, for a certain term, all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuits, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state in amity with his majesty, either into Great Britain or Ireland ; and for exporting from Southampton Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal or

B O O K flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters. The commons would have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow-creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a subsequent report of the committee, the house resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill formed on this resolution was in embryo, a petition was presented to the house by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: That, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: They, therefore, prayed, that, in regard to the public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public loss, and relieving their particular distresses. The house would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous opposition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery; consequently, a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. If they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but, at the expiration of that term

the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the 11th day of December, with a proviso, empowering his majesty to put an end to it at any time after the 11th day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

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The next bill that engaged the attention of the commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia was a very popular and desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth; though some acquiesced in the scheme who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the 4th day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by colonel George Townshend, eldest son of lord viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity, endued with penetration to discern, and honesty to pursue the real interest of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the house, comprehending his own brother Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: He was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependence.

While the militia bill remained under consideration of the house, a petition for a constitutional and well-regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the king's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled. At the same time, remonstrances were offered by the Protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the Protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury; the dissenting ministers of Devonshire; the Protestant dissenters, being freeholders and burgesses of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabi-

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tants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it might be proposed to enact, that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than the declaration of such a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the house paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the Quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgesses of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchises, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the lower-house, and was sent to the lords for their concurrence. Here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the commons had proposed; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvassed in the lower-house, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: At length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay. Had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the lords could have made no amendment. In order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the house of peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the commons left the expence of the militia, to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session when they could with more certainty compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, im-

perfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they insisted upon the scheme's being dropped altogether, had they insisted upon the scheme's being executed in its full extent. They were eager to seize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and, therefore, they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

The next measure that fell under the consideration of the house was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and inn-holders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who begun to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favour of those foreigners. It was intitled, "A bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom," prepared by Lord Barrington, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the solicitor-general, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny-act, with this material difference: It empowered the admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner, as his majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

The same favourable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow creatures: All justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the secretary at war, communicated in precepts issued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual place of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: Then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these

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succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officer, as, by notice from the secretary at war, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session. The next law enacted was for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are entrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in public houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner*. With respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans suffering journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress.

Divers inconveniences having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the house of commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woollen manufacture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the peace to

* It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publicly in the house of correction or such other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: That every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: That a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel entrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent upon it, and restore the goods: That upon oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and upon refusal of admittance, the officer might break open the door: That goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tending the principal, interest, and charges: That goods remaining unredeemed for two years should be forfeited and sold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

make rates for the payment of wages*. The commons C H A P.
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 were not more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the sum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds eight shillings and sixpence, together with the entire produce of their fish, and all the monies arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the further assistance of parliament. They prayed, therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting which, by the fishery acts, they were then bound to carry. That the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and for as much as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any further sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any further sum in the undertaking, that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the committee was employed in

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* It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established; but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not the payment thereof in any other manner than in money: And that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

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deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expence and loss of time; and while the war continued durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy: That, ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland, not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: They took notice, that the Free British Fishery Society had applied to the house for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbeltown in Argyleshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The committee having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion, that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring fishery: That the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty: That the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons: That they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might thereafter find best adapted for that purpose: That they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose drying their nets; and that Campbeltown would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. This last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

Such are the connections, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and enquiry in the legislature, to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant-adventurers in the city of Bristol alledged, in a petition to

the house of commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places; and the rest wrought up by the manufactures. They affirmed, That bar-iron, imported from North America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation; but also to the benefit of the British colonies: That by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London duty free was permitted; but its being carried coastways or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: They requested, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North America into Great Britain, duty free, by all his majesty's subjects. This request being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm; and, in divers counter petitions, specified many ill consequences, which they alledged would arise from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question and violent disputes were kindled upon this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, That large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thousand tons of iron: That as the mines in Great Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free; a supposition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic. They alledged, That the iron works already carried on in England occasioned a consumption of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwise be turn-

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ed to any good account: That as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground, the pasture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently all the estates where these now grow would sink in their yearly value: That these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that according to the management of these coppices they produced a great number of timber trees, so necessary for the purposes of building. They asserted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great Britain, was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that sort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the same quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia. They inferred, that American iron could never interfere with that which Great Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not for edge-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building, nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed. The importation of American iron therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favourers of the bill solicited replied, That when a manufacture is much more favourable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislator to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: That as the neighbours of Great Britain are now more attentive than ever to their com-

mercial interests, and endeavouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture; and instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron: That being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded: That the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations: That American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is much dearer than in England: If a man employs his own slaves he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase money; because when one of them dies or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal: That the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade, by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, especially in time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expence of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and timber trees would produce considerable advantage: Therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no coppices would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear,

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especially as planting hath become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill, seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length, Mr. John Pitt reported to the house their opinion, implying, That the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed. The house having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands, in the west-riding of Yorkshire, alledging, that a permission to import American bar-iron, duty free, would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to sell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions. In consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill repealing so much of the act of Henry VIII. as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the house presented an address to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions, that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the 5th of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, each year being distinguished.

From this important object, the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law, without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the public were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper which at that time raged among the horned cattle. A third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any person might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the 1st day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London, wheresoever landed: But that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithstanding several petitions presented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

The next civil regulation established in this session of parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperadoes concerned therein from inlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person

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who had been, before the 1st of May, in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been paid or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the 1st day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favour of the sea-men employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity. Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of sea-men employed in his majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The proposal was corroborated by divers petitions: The bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the house of lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament.

The house of commons being desirous of preventing for the future such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and it was resolved that all who attended the committee should have voices. Having enquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in, to explain and amend the laws against regrators, forestallers, and en-

grossers of corn. The committee also received instructions to enquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel, but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-ashes, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townsend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed, in the reign of king William III. intituled, "An act to punish governors of plantations, in this kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the plantations." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but before the bill could be brought in, the parliament was prorogued.

But no step taken by the house of commons, in the course of this session, was more interesting to the body of the people than the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamour. By addressees to the king, unanimously voted, the commons requested, that his majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the 1st day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the 1st day of August, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six. They likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the 1st of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the 30th day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his majesty's

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ships in the several ports of Great Britain at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of fort St. Philip, during the period of time above mentioned, according to the monthly returns made to the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and born on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state, or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers which could in any manner tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His majesty complied with every article of their requests: The papers were presented to the house, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. In the course of their deliberations they addressed his majesty for more information, till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burthen of papers as the efforts of a whole session could not have properly removed. Indeed, many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the enquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole house. They observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner: That the names of the committee ought to have been published, for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged with some certainty whether the enquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required. They suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole house was a ministerial contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation, to introduce confusion and contest, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the enquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people. A select

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committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house. Indeed, it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on this occasion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, as in times past evil ministers have generally found means to render such enquiries in effectual; and the same arts would, at any rate, have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the committee, that his majesty, from the 27th day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the 20th day of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe, that the French king intended to invade his dominions of Great Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects. It must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves, yet the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could be no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great Britain or

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Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised. The number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to two hundred and fifty, having on board fifty thousand sea-men and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French design upon Minorca had been conveyed to the ministry of England, about six months before it was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates, to save the important island of Minorca? Is it easy to conceive, that from a standing army of fifty thousand men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend? To persons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the 27th day of August, by consul Banks, of Carthagea; confirmed by letters from consul Berttes, at Genoa, dated on the 17th and 26th of January, and received by Mr. Fox, secretary of state, on the 4th and 11th of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege, when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgumbe, consisted of two ships of the line, and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops, were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented till admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the 6th day of April, with no more ships of the line than, by the most early and authentic intelligence, the government were informed they would sail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been joined by commodore Edgumbe; a junction upon which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this squadron

contained no troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in the garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar, which order was neither obeyed nor understood: That, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, admiral Osborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the 16th of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great Britain; for, at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped: That admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate, to cruize in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West Indies, and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent, consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: That, instead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the 8th day of March, sent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off cape Barfleur: On the 11th of the same month, they detached two ships of the line to the West Indies, and on the 19th two more to North America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the 23d, two of the line, and three frigates, a convoy-hunting off Cherbourg; and on the 1st of April, five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: That all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: That at length, Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships might have been detached to

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the Mediterranean than were actually sent with admiral Byng: That the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortrefs of Mahon.

The next enquiry, in which the house of commons engaged, related to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were supposed, by some patriots, to be fraudulent and unconscionable. This suspicion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor being interrogated by the committee appointed to examine the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in such a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the legislature. The house, therefore, resolved, that the contract entered into on the 26th day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by the commissioners of the treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America.

The preceding session, an address had been presented to the king by the house of commons, desiring his majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his excellency Charles Knowles, Esq; and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica. This governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the course of his arbitration; but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island. This was his changing the seat of government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to the several officers in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers to keep their offices, and hold a supreme court of judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of government. Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance;

whereas, Kingston was the centre of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour filled with ships, well secured from the insults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flourishing. Here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow upon the island. They found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish-town, which stands at a considerable distance, and the same inconvenience and expence being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law, or attended the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting, that, in consideration of these inconveniences, added to that of the weakness of Spanish-town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed. He complied with their request, and in so doing entailed upon himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted. This seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamour incurred by Mr. Knowles, against whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England, and presented to his majesty. In the two sessions preceding this year, the affair had been brought into the house of commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined. Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole house. In the mean time, petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore, praying, that the purposes of the act passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in such manner as the house should think proper. The committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing, that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the 29th day of October, in the year one thousand seven

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hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain: That the six last resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the 29th day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the king's instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any-wise affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure should be known: That such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, vice-admiral Knowles, whose conduct, on this occasion, seems to have been justified by the legislature. The parliament, however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish-town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

The last subject which we shall mention, as having fallen under the cognizance of the commons during this session of parliament, was the state of Milfordhaven, on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe and commodious harbours in Great Britain. Here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very small expence, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruizers, trading ships and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: They may weather Scilly and Cape Clear, when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort; and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of

very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented and recommended to the house in a message from the king, specifying the advantages of this harbour, and the small expence at which it might be fortified, and praying that the house would take this important subject into consideration. Accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the house by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbour on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, sending out cruizers: That the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated; and, if properly defended and secured, in every respect adopted to the answering those important purposes: They, therefore, humbly besought his majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the sides of the said harbour, in the most convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberstone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour; and that until such batteries and fortifications could be completed some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbour: Finally they assured him, the house would make good to his majesty all such expences as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given. The harbour was actually surveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries, and the estimates prepared; but no further progress hath since been made.

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We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the mean time, we may observe, that on the 4th day of July, the session was closed with his majesty's harangue, the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned upon his royal assurance, that the succour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care; and next to the security of his king-

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doms, should continue to be his great and principal object. He told them, he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts: That he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve the tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services, by the title of lord viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had, from his earliest youth, been trained to his father's profession, and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the 28th day of December, his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ship *St. George*, in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the 20th day of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of *St. Philip's* castle. They, therefore, unanimously agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing, into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any vari-

ation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board of such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour ; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage, and from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection, they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The admiral himself behaved through the whole trial with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might summon all his fortitude to his assistance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then or in the court when the sentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph : " We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, which admits of no mitigation if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment ; and, therefore, for our own consciences

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"fake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to commend him to his majesty's clemency." The lords of the admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. At the same time, copies of two petitions from George lord viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman admiral Byng, were submitted to his majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour, it was supposed that the scepter of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation; but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land; fullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the sovereign was given to understand, that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people. His majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion, that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the 28th day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe, the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader*.

* Admiral Forbes's reasons for not signing the warrant for admiral Byng's execution :

"IT may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider; whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained

Though mercy was denied to the criminal the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law. A member of parliament, who had sat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the house of commons, in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the le-

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their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

“ The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng’s sentence is grounded, says (according to my understanding of its meaning) ‘ That every person, who, in time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’ The court-martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence ; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng’s situation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes, besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in case of blood.

“ Admiral Byng’s fate was referred to a court-martial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that, for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy : It is evident, then, that, in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

“ The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court-martial determine admiral Byng’s fate ? If it should be the latter he will be executed, contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges ; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death ; but mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under ; and then they condemn him to death, because as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence ! I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng’s deserts : That was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience ; which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt, and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution ; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men’s opinions ; all I endeavour at, is to give reasons for my own ; and all I desire or wish is, that I may not be misunderstood : I do not pretend to judge admiral Byng’s deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

“ Signed, 6th Feb. 1757 at the Admiralty.

“ J. FORBES.



gislature, to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on admiral Byng and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might, show the sentence to be improper. Although this application produced no resolution in the house, the king, on the 26th day of February, sent a message to the commons by Mr. secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation to admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the house had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples, and that his majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination that admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and, at the same time, very severe, according to the maxim, *summum jus summa injuria*. In such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigour of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the case of admiral Byng, appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury, a species of intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience, in behalf of a man whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation ! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamations. At present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach upon the privileges of the house.

The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy and passed through the lower house without opposition ; but in the house of lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They sent a message to the commons, desiring them to give leave, that such of the members

of the court-martial, as were members of that house, might attend their lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly, they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hesitation. As they did not insist upon any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for showing, that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which, therefore, they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

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The unfortunate admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice; prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty. On the 14th of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing, that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in

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which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. The sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: The manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty, according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these crimes: But who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved, and subside, as my resentment has done. The Supreme Judge sees all

hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause." C H A P. VI.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favour, notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practised to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding this solemn appeal to heaven in his last moments, and even self-conviction of innocence, the character of admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still, with many people, remain problematical. They will still be of opinion, that, if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits; and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind eager for its own justification, assembles, with surprising industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doating mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever consequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion, as the tribunal, before which he was tried, acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain. The people of Great Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions, which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and untractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

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Changes in the British ministry—Expedition against France—Enquiry into its failure—Naval operations—Success of the French in North America—East-India affairs—Damien attempts the life of the French king—Progress of the German war—Austrians defeated at Reichenberg and Prague—King of Prussia defeated at Kolin—Successes of the French in Hanover—Duke of Cumberland capitulates at Closter-Seven.

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Mr. Pitt &
Mr. Legge
taken into
the admini-
stration.

THOUGH the parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government for a vigorous prosecution of the war those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year, the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruizes, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of

what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honourable though subordinate offices.

So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance: But these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country. The new ministers combated in council every such plan, however patronised: They openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the sovereign. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his majesty's inclination. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect. On the 9th day of April, Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the right honourable lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of King's-Bench, the same personage whom we have mentioned be-

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fore under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: The board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: Every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, inclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the verge of destructions, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction, long support it against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign. It was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his majesty was graciously pleased to re-deliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the 29th day of June; and five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge; promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration, all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people; however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the house of commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made lordkeeper of the great-seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the 30th day of June: The custody of the privy-seal was committed to earl Temple: His grace the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer: Lord Anson, admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favour distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted. Ingredients seemingly heterogeneous consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year, made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprize, which should, at the same time, produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace. A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it

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projected
against
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was thought, would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and, at the same time, effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian monarch and the duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent. His royal highness the duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops ; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants ; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

From these considerations, a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command ; and rear-admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces ; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy : It exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure ; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe ; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last, the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got un-

der sail on the 8th day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the 14th, that even the troops on board began to conjecture, that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

On the 20th, the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the *Magnanime*, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majesty's ships into danger.

While the above ships, with the addition of the *Royal William*, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river *Garonne*, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful had there ever been occasion to put them in execution. On the 23d, the van of the fleet led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river *Charente*, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as

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soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to vice admiral Knowles.

Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed to laying a sixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This a French Pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported, that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled, for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war, held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed and now they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which the land-officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and choosing ra-

The fleet
returns.

ther to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the CHAP.
 murmurings of an incensed nation, and the contempt of III.
 mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such
 was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation
 of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the
 utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little
 less than a million of money.

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The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived, that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to a great expence, before they had obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice, but the whispers of factions were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard an incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philips, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly men-

Inquiry into the reasons of the miscarriage of the Secret Expedition.

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tioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers, before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked, why the army did not land on the night of the 23d or 24th ? and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable ? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, " To attempt as ar should be found " practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or " near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous " impression, force that place ; and to burn and destroy " to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there ? " Such rumours as these every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition than to the minister who had projected it. Accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majesty, to enquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles duke of Marlborough, lieutenant general ; major generals lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to enquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to sir John, afterwards lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained, in substance, that colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans ; no outworks, no covered way, and in many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there

Accounts
of the state
of Roche-
fort.

was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage : That for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water ; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side appeared, and on the land side observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town, in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him : However as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace ; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the Protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council. This person declared, that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships : That he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix ; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bay-

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onne: The channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Mag-nanime alone should destroy: That the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: That men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. He said, great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was enclosed only with pallisadoes, without a fossé. To the intelligence of col. Clark and Thierry, the ministry added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable, that no more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux. In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned: Instructions were given to sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms. The board of enquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore, from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the 29th: the result of the councils of war on the 25th and 28th; sir Edward Hawke's letter to sir John Mordaunt on the 27th, and the general's answer on the 29th: After which sir John Mor-

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daunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main* or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood, that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered; particularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which col. Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned; especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St Maloes to Rochefort; the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: The opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: The endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his majesty's instructions: The attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by

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boisterous and stormy weather ; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers, who served in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his majesty:—" It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed, is the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by admiral Hawke, (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was aground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore ; but as neither sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land when the report was received, on the 24th of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the 25th, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable or practicable : But it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty : Neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's command. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the 28th of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously

resolved to land, in the council of war of the 28th of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: But as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition, since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people were still his advocates; they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: The loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the two powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty. It is even thought that sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the 3d day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the 14th, and continued by several adjournments to the 20th. Lieutenant-general sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and

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the following charge was exhibited against him ; namely, That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of enquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of sir Edward Hawke's deposition ; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner ; but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial, as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention : He was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character : His performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service by his sovereign.

Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East Indies ; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the 9th of February admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West Indies, and commodore Stevens with the trade to the East Indies in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and commodore Holms, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. In May admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

Fleets sent
to the East
and West
Indies.

In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce. The *Antigallican*, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the duke de *Penthievre* Indiaman off the port of *Corunna*, and carried her into *Cadiz*. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediately application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the *Antigallican* were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot the imaginary wealth, so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his catholic majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the *Penthievre* was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the duke d'*Aquitaine* Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the *Eagle* and *Medway*; the *Pondicherry* Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the *Dover* man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain *Lockhart*, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships homeward bound from *Carolina*, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous

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Engage-
ment be-
tween three
Indiamen
and two
French men
of war.

manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops with which it pleased providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villanous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the leeward islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage. His majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemies privateers upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: But this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Woodcreek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the ene-

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my destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time, lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown-Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the 9th of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: They brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest, with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg for France was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians,

with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates, moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief.

Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But this disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort William-Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry

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stands on the southern coast of Lake George : It was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake : The fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. “ A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty ; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation as none of them hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the Sieur Funtbrune, one of my aides-du-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm.” General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general’s designs and motions ; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit, till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm’s promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender, while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General Webb. They even

perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to ſurrender. Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would ſurely make ſome vigorous efforts, either to raiſe the ſiege, or force a ſupply of ammunition, proviſion, and other neceſſaries into the garrifon. At length, neceſſity obliged him, after ſuſtaining a ſiege from the 3d to the 9th day of Auguſt, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hoſtages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation ſigned by both parties. It was ſtipulated, that the garrifon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; eſcorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the ſavages: That the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the moſt chriſtian king, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the Britiſh forces: That the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and in general every thing, except the effects of the ſoldiers and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpoſe it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores, and other particulars ſpecified: That the garrifon of the fort, and the troops in the retrenchment and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or his allies: That, with the capitulation, there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commiſſaries, and all employed: That the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women, and ſavages, made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North America, ſhould be delivered in the ſpace of three months at Carrilon; in return for whom an equal number of the garrifon of Fort William-Henry ſhould be capacitated to ſerve, agreeably to the return given by the Engliſh officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: That an officer ſhould remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcort ſent with the troops of his Britanniſh majeſty: That the ſick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort-Edward, ſhould remain under the protec-

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tion of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: That provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: That, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.—Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them, with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity. Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort-Edward, under protection of the French escort. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, there were not less unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudoun's departure from Halifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruise might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of in-

forming himself with certainty of the enemy's strength, while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the 20th day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruizing until the 25th, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship *Tilbury* was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and resolution which constitutes the commander, and without which

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The British
fleet terribly shattered
by a
tempest.

B O O K the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

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Attempt of
the French
on Cape-
Coast.

The French king not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval commanders, with a small squadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whose name was Kerfin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships; but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kerfin was a few leagues to the windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers they could not have sustained, for twenty minutes, the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery, and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began, but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favour of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kerfin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt; but he is said to have been deceived in

his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast castle by the vigorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement ; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of Negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold Coast would have revolted from the British interest ; for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coast, John Correntee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprise of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependents, with a present of refreshments for their commodore ; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kirsin on his victory at Cape-coast ; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land ; but, understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

In the East Indies, the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the 28th of December, the fleet proceeded up the river : Next day colonel Clive landed, and with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January, the the admiral with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemies

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guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered the brave and active Captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the 2d of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and six hundred men under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in the letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform. The suba desired the negotiation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promised not to

disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm, and granted by the mogul: That all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal free of duty: That all the English factories, seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: That all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: That the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: That they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: That he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company, by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power of this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence. Nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the the favourites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavid in counterworking those intrigues, and keeping the suba steady to his engagements, the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first ar-

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rival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watson and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the 24th, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham, of the Tiger, and in the afternoon, colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession. Thus, the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: The Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit with deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the

treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops, under M. de Buffy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts, from time to time, sent them intelligence of every transaction in the suba's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: They were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled or the nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to ensure success. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other

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malcontents for their defection from the viceroy. These previous measures being taken, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the 19th of June, a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Cossimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of this hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissy, where he encamped. On the 23d, at day-break, the suba advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependence. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning, but a severe shower falling at noon they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breast-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded their left wing, forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It was therefore concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and, with the same ceremony to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia. Soon after, the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his suc-

cessor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the 16th of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man

Damiens attempts to assassinate the French king.

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He is tormented.

could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and fullness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe. On the 5th day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: Many persons, supposed accessaries to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastille; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest, was practised without effect. Nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for encreasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the congerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted

the next. It is not within our province, nor do we consider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the 28th day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon attending, declared, it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were separated: Upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh: A thigh and an arm were separated, and after several pulls the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempts on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for

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the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismission was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French king, to show the queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrees, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germaine, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the imperial army of execution, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the king of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries*; whilst a detachment from d'Etrees's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East Friesland.

Powerful
confederacy
against the
king of
Prussia.

At the close of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the imperialists under the command of mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter quarters, until the season should per-

* The king of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

mit him to improve these advantages. His majesty and Mareſchal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and mareſchal Schwerin, returning into Sileſia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the empreſs-queen, finding the force which ſhe had ſent out againſt the king of Pruſſia, was not ſufficient to prevent his deſigns, made the neceſſary requiſitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furniſh. In conſequence of theſe requiſitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, diſpatched above an hundred thouſand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with deſign particularly to invade Ducal Pruſſia, whiſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Auſtrian army aſſembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of fourſcore thouſand men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and mareſchal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themſelves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Pruſſian majeſty, yet the jealouſy which the ſenate of Sweden entertained of their ſovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient poſſeſſions in Pomerania, by means of the preſent troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and ſubſidies, would certainly induce them to join in the general confederacy. The duke of Mecklenbourg took the ſame party, and agreed to join the Swediſh army, when it ſhould be aſſembled, with ſix thouſand men. Beſides all theſe preparations againſt the king of Pruſſia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the empire by the auſtick council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his ſieſs were eſcheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies for putting this ſentence in execution.

He is put
to the ban
of the empire.

In this dangerous ſituation, thus menaced on all ſides, and ſeemingly on the very brink of inevitable deſtruction, the Pruſſian monarch owed his preſervation to his own courage and activity. The Ruſſians, knowing that the country they were to paſs through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to ſuſſiſt their prodigious

gious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The king of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops to reinforce the garrison of that place. He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Neiss, where he settled with mareschal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the mareschal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time, other armies were assembled by the king of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his majesty's

commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released. The countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and, on his replying, that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The count de Waekerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Costrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipstick were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

While the king of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the 20th of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces; and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: This affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition, he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of the regiment of Puttkammer, met with a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiana,

Skirmishes
betwixt the
Austrians
and Prus-
sians.

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at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great Britain, still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this crown: For an edict was published at Florence on the 13th of February, wherein his imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alledging, that they were captors of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea; but the governor prudently replied, That as they came in under English colours, he would protect them; and forbade the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.

The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the states-general through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their high mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

Scarce had the French army, commanded by the prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them, the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdebourg, who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions, for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, the last war, they still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the empress-queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country round under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of count Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the empress-queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under prince Soubise, was appointed at Neufs, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French were assembled by the first of April. The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marshal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koninsgratz, reviewed the army of the late prince Piccolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

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Success of
the French
in Germa-
ny.

During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "That the empress of

Empress of
Russia de-
clares
against the
king of
Prussia.

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Russia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies : That the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the king of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause ; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprizing and restless a neighbour : That with this view, the empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march*, under the command of general Apraxin ; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She further recommended to the republic, to make some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the king of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties, with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czartorinski and count Mniscac. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel ; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

* This letter was written in December ; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

In the mean time, Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expences she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the king of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him, by order of the empress, purporting, "That her imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprize her imperial majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly, that the king of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the king of Prussia more blamable."

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Vigorous
conduct of
the king of
Prussia.

Battle of
Reichen-
berg.

The season now drawing on, in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by mareschal Keith; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deslau, the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, and the fourth by mareschal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the 18th of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the 21st of April without any resistance. The prince of Bevern, on the 20th of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottaw and Grasenstein without the loss of a single man; drove away the enemy the same day from Krutzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Puttkammer's hussars who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cöhlitz, under the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest that they were scarcely able to rally near Krutzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by count Königsegg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the troops were formed they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry,

drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry which was posted among felled trees and entrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themselves. But the prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who by clearing the ground, and possessing the entrenchments, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded; among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds; and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfield. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns, and about an hundred men were killed, and sixteen officers, and an hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle mareschal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The prince of Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army, then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army, and that of mareschal Schwerin, were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

The Austrians defeated.

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II..

1757.

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These advantages were but the prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi. Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Marechal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the king of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw, on the 5th of May, he passed that river in the morning of the 6th, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under Marechal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of his resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, Marechal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me." Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years

of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Marechal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar. Mean while, the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act; prince Henry of Prussia, and the prince of Bevern signalized themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of Moldaw. In short after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valour on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown, but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under marechal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, the colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant colonel Roke. Among the latter, the generals Wenterfield, De la

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Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last was mareschal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance, by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the empire.

The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side, and mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and mareschal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post, but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the king's lines, it was intended, to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of

an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against mareschal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branick and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceiving the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian foldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: They returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage.

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the enemy. The battalion of Pannowitz attacked a building called the red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musquetry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the pandours, who again took possession of the red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

The city
reduced to
ashes by
bombs, &c.

The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable, houses, men, and horses wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants, the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous resentment that constitutes the military art to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms, but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eat-

ing horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at fourpence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful. The only advantage resulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

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Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit, without soliciting court favour; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent: His promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fa-

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bious to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that monarch by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Boemischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle with dispirited troops to an army flushed with victory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs, weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and discipline of the Prussian forces, the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardour of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms, and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days, but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the prince

of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to sixty thousand men, were deeply intrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on red ubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding thirty-two thousand men.

On the 13th day June, the king of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Marechal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arms, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marechal's sage council, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth, the two armies were in sight, and his majesty found that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their

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situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: On that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

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Prague
raised.

When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and

baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. Thus determined the battle of Kolin, and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were in some measure atoned by the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the earl Marischal*, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the king highly blamable for checking the ardour of his troops, to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital, but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern, and Marechal Keith retreated next day. count Brown, having died before, of the wounds he

* "The imperial grenadiers, says he, are an admirable corps: One hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops, and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of their's. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers; they are too brave.—Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: She is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.—Success, my dear lord, often occasions a destructive confidence.—Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better.—What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Bradenbourg for its object? The great elector would be surpris'd to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and an hundred thousand French auxiliaries.—I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

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received on the 6th of May, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of the Austrians and attacked the rear of the Prussians ; but did no farther mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat ; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

Operations
in Hanover.

Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition ; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate ; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men ; of these twenty-six thousand were to be Hanoverians ; and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburghers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. The king of England having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals appointed to command the several divisions repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the duke of Cumberland, who having left London on the 9th of April, arrived on the 16th at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which having been joined by the three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisting of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squa-

drons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of C H A P.
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of lieutenant-general Baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Haufs, near Nienburgh. The head-quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

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In the mean time, the French on the Lower-Rhine continued filing off incessantly. The siege of Guel-dres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the elector of Cologne. On the other hand, colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians in the county of Teklenbourgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy who, declining to attack him on the side Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the 13th of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The van-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einsiedel, very

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briskly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day, the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed, nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops and a new-raised corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the 14th, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; and, in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuyfen. A body of troops, which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time, some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness re-assembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only part of a magazine, which had been set on fire. By this time, the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses. However, on the 10th of June, their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassible forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the ar-

my of the allies ; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the 10th and 11th of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related :—Mareschal d'Etrées being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered the lieutenant-general Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren : Lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden, and lieutenant-general marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the 14th of July, halted the 5th. On the 6th, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches, got on the 7th, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the 7th and 8th. The mareschal having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the 6th, went in person on the 7th, at eleven o'clock to Horn, and, on the 8th, to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the 9th to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and entrenchments ; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the 10th in the morning, he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock ; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which ar-

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rived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The mareschal having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gunshot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglie and Chevert now passed it on the 12th and 13th. These two generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They, therefore, met to deliberate; but, in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

On Sunday the 24th of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when major-general Fustenberg, who commanded the out-ports in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of their approach. His royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up

in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He, therefore, resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve pounders and howitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-general Schulemberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery. His royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impassable. In the evening, he withdrew all his out-posts, and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night. On the 25th, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening, their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies.

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The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms. His royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired; count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field-pieces of cannon; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve and six pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light, he mounted on horse back to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five, a very smart canno-



nading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness. The fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length, the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbittel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of four-

teen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies, in all these skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the mareschal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the councils of his favourite, the marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last. Even at the time, no comparison was made between the military skill of the Mareschal d'Etrées, and that of the duke de Richelieu; but, however that way have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or, at least, most of his cotemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the 6th of August, with the title of mareschal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuse was de-

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tached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. About the same time, M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him, within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the 24th of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenburg. The French took possession of Verden on the 26th of August, and one of their detachments went on the 29th to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again, to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his head-quarters were on the 1st of September; and from thence, on the 3d of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the

season should put an end to the campaign. According-ly, his royal highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck Shantze, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost : But as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war then in that river could have been of no service to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven*, by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

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* This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect :

“ His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection ; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated ; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master's intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention ; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe-Buckbourg, shall be sent home ; and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade : That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which, it is supposed, may amount to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility : nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French

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troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts, for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As theafore said articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight-and-forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulations of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the 10th instant to Bremerworden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark's guarantee, which the count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp as Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

(Signed) W I L L I A M.

S E P A R A T E A R T I C L E S.

UPON the representations made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented, that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish majesty, gives his consent, and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Ost; provided always that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guaranteed by the count de Lynar in the name of his Danish majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight-and-forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremerword n, being their march to retire in four-and-twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcken and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.

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Distressed situation of the king of Prussia—Gabal taken, and Zittau destroyed by the Austrians—King of Prussia gains the battle of Rosbach—and Lissa—Writes a letter to the king of Britain—War revives in Hanover—Death of the Queen of Poland—Naval affairs—Bravery of Captain Death—Parliamentary transactions—Death of Princess Caroline—Various expeditions against France.

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THE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the king of Prussia by this treaty, mareschal Richelieu immediately ordered lieutenant-general Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the prince de Soubise: The gens-d'armes, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Mareschal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the 15th of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbittel, he entered the king of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have connived. In the meantime, the duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbüttel, Halberstadt, and Magdeburgh, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Wefer, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienburg, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxthude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety. By this unaccountable conduct, the king of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Prussia under mareschal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: Then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortrefs of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Au-

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Prussian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution ; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them ; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their king harassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies, who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war ; and by the convention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the king of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony ! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, and well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

Operations
of the Rus-
sians.

Whilst the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, the empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, That if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes ; and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandize from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy ; to which interrogation

the Russian captain replied, That, notwithstanding the dispositions of the empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruize. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months ; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were designed really to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though general Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions ; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered ; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest, published the following declaration :—" It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress ; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machination, and carried things to such

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a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria. His majesty hath given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him. His majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise. The king did more: He suggested to her imperial majesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the justest grounds, the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the king. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The king finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the imperial court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign

power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in his dominions: And thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire. In such circumstances, the king hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His majesty will never loose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony: And if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the lord of hosts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

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When the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulick council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the protestant princes, but also of the Catholics, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his

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Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the prince de Soubise. The elector-palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French commissary on the 24th of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. Next morning, thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Meanwhile, some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. Next morning, the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

Operations
of the Au-
strians.

The king of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly entrenched, whilst mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the same time, detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the king of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and at last, with a detachment commanded by the duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the 18th of June fell suddenly upon, and took the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemisch-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Puttkamer,

consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the 20th in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the 1st of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the 22d, the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the 23d. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon shot of the Prussian camp. On the 24th the army marched to Nellen-dorf; on the 25th, it encamped near Cotta; on the 26th near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the 28th, it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune; for the Austrians, immediately after their taken Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper-Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the king of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, find-

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ing themselves unable to resist, made their escape; and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the 23d of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place; but in this particular their expectations were disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau; instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and the other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-work. The queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the king of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

The corps under the prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the

Austrians, who, upon his majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event, the prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign*, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the mean time, marechal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Goltz. The Prussian army now re-assembled at this place amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons, which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deffau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seems obvious : The Prussian army had been recruited in times of peace, from all parts of Germany ; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war ; because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

It will be proper here to take notice of some events, which could not easily be mentioned before, without

* This was the reason that was publicly assigned for his quitting the army ; but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject ; upon which his majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, " That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after ; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

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breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history. The empress-queen, more embittered than ever against the king of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, count Coloredo and Mons. Zohern, from London towards the beginning of July; and about the same time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give the king of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty the empress-queen had thought proper to recall her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the 29th of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time. On the 7th of July, general Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen, till further dispositions should be made. The reasons alledged by the court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her imperial majesty, the empress-queen could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parlia-

ment, that she had formed, with the most christian king, dangerous designs against that electorate: Therefore, her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and, at the same time, to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great Britain had, without scruple, openly violated." Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats with letters, were allowed to pass, as usual, to and from Ostend; the ministers of her imperial majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport by order of her imperial majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the 19th of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the empress-queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her majesty's minister plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries. At the same time, their imperial and most christian majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburgh, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the 24th of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: But so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty seven men. By the surrender of this place, the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the empress-queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone.

To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Prussia. The advanced posts of the prince of Anhalt-Deßau at Pirna were attacked on the 10th of August by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the loss of several men and two pieces of

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cannon. On the 19th of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotlicbe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprize. The Pandours attacked it on all sides, and, in the beginning, killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss. These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions, which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baran Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottsburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia, the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the imperialists: The first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the king of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Koningsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation. Field-mareschal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Vellau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the 7th and 8th of August, colonel Malachowski, one of mareschal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them till at length the two armies approached one another in Brandenburg-Prussia. Mareschal Lehwald finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russians, Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army; and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the 30th of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of mareschal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were entrenched in a most advantageous camp near Norkitten in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an entrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Mareschal Lehwalds army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of granadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second entrenchment, mareschal Lehwald, seeing that he could not attempt to carry it without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery, but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon, but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

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Prussia.

After this engagement, mareſchal Lehwald changed the poſition of his army, by drawing towards Peterſwald, and the Ruſſians, after remaining quite inactive till the 13th of September, on a ſudden, to the great ſurpriſe of every one, retreated out of Pruſſia with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their ſick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. Mareſchal Apraxin masked his deſign by advancing all his irregulars towards the Pruſſian army; ſo that mareſchal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holſtein, with ten thouſand horſe, to purſue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the ſooner in their own country. However, the Pruſſians took ſome of them priſoners, and many ſtragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tiliſt, which they abandoned, though they ſtill kept Memel, and ſhortly after added ſome new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its courſe towards Memel; whiſt the other took the neareſt way thro' the bailiwick of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they paſſed through without diſtinction. The Pruſſians were obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit of theſe barbarians, becauſe the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been deſtroyed by the violence of the ſtream. The Ruſſian army ſuffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it paſſed, ſo that they could procure no ſort of ſubſiſtence but herbage and rye bread. All the roads were ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes. The real cauſe of this ſudden retreat is as great a myſtery as the reaſon, of their ſtopping ſo long the year before on the borders of Lithuania; though the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of an apoplectic fit, and had made ſome new regulation in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government.

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of the
French and
Imperialiſts.

The king of Pruſſia, after remaining for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernſtedel; and on the 15th of Auguſt his army came in fight of the Auſtrian camp, and

within cannon shot of it: Upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The king formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisse; the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left, and before their front, at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men abreast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: But behind it they had placed three lines of infantry; and, on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp. The king left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat. The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thousand strong, more than double the number of the king of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour, but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by marechal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the 29th of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp under the prince

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of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the 14th of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and, upon his further approach, they retired to Eyese-nach, where they entrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschla-ben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus situated, major-general Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the 19th, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hus-sars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance. The ene-my immediately took possession of the town and castle; but general Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attack-ed the enemy with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and general Sey-delitz sent prisoners to the camp, one lieutenant-colo-nel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two sol-diers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eyesenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly entrenched that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburgh on the river Sala; whereup-on the combined army marched, and again took pos-session of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar; which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

Upon the king of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the 6th of Septem-ber, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austri-ans attacked two battalions of general Winterfield's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennerdorf, in the neighbourhood of Go-

erlitz ; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss, in this action was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave general Winterfield, who as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The generals Nadaſti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhausen, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded and the young count of Groesbeck and the marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of the colours, and made general Kemeke, the count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners. After this skirmish the prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queſs at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau, in Silesia, and on the 1st of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of general Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

A body of the French, who, let loose against the king of Prussia by the ever memorable and shameful convention of Cloſter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops with which his Prussian majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the count of Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men ; and, moreover, a French officer and

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forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check, the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but returning again on the 29th of September, with a considerable reinforcement from mareschal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising activity of their king now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides. Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred squadrons entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and imperialists, being joined by six thousand men under general Laudohn, who had just defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weissenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin, and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time, they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the prince of Anhalt Dessau from Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

Berlin laid
under con-
tribution.

While these precautions were taking, general Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the 16th of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs, but before they could do any further mischief they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose van-guard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburgh on the 23d; and the

most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master. The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of his king, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented, but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the 15th of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the same time, a rumour was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect were soon abated, by his majesty's declaring, that he was willing to spare the place upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done, was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of security for the payment of thirty thousand more, within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

The king of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the princes Saxe-Hildburghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters

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back to Berlin, leaving mareschal Keith with only seven or eight thousand men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the mareschal to surrender, to which he answered, That the king, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city; but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder and was advancing, by long marches to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was re-assembled on the 27th of October, and remained at Leipzig the 28th and 29th, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the 30th, the king drew nigh that place, and on the 31st, in his way through Weissenfels and Mersebourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of war. The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Mersebourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges, but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the 3d of November, in the evening, over against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand imperialists. On the 5th about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard the drums beating the march; and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design; and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut; but it was soon perceived that their several motions were contradictory to each other. At the same time that some of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along

to the rising grounds, with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that, the cavalry were seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon, the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Meresbourg, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this situation the king of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them they formed over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly, during this interval, and did some execution, but the Prussian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batte-

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ries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five, the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them, and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the 6th, after a whole night's march. The king of Prussia set out early in the morning, to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there; for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was general Meincke, and, among the latter, prince Henry, and general Seydelitz. The enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggons were sent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swiss. Upon the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having

had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of the defeat of the combined armies, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince de Soubise, who with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the imperial army, which was now almost entirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the king of Prussia, soon after this battle.

Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of count Nadaſti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the 26th of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly, on the 30th, they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but, on the 6th of November, the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously; and, on the 11th, made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong entrenchment in the market place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and mareſchal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped with his little army under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now re-assembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the king of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack

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the last in his entrenchments. Accordingly, on the 22d of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but, at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals fearing their entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come up to its relief. But, on the 24th, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner*. His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum*

* We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed, that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoitring the enemy, with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the king his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which, it is asserted, his Prussian majesty had sent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the 5th of December, in which we shall find he kept his word.

for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army, for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible entrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians, did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general Klieft was found dead on the field of battle.

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The king of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, staid no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the 5th of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia, and on the 24th of that month arrived at Naumburg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached mareschal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a service which he performed so effectually as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. His majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king upon his march*. With this

* Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing

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force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were entrenched at Lissa, near Breslau. On the 4th of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumareck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zithen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the 22d. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their entrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: Then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with

to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his majesty's march; and at the same time, this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence, for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.



their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the king made overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen, this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury: But he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides, but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They also took an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with astonishment,

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that the same prince, who, but a few months before, seemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the assistance of any friends whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one except himself thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the empire at Rosbach on the 5th of November, and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau, and within two days after this great victory, every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it, but the king, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslau surrendered to him on the 20th of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared to a small army, and whilst that continued so, the king of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as

strictly as the rigour of the season would permit*. It was not, however, till the beginning of the ensuing campaign that this place was taken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the 3d of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the 14th, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein; the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia which the king of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possest themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which a few days before she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

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The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the king of Prussia, and, in consequence of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, general Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "That the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia,

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* Such was the rigour of the season, that some hundreds of the centinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers, and indeed this practice of winter-campaigns in such a cold country, bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

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could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania, belonging to the king of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty: That, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline." After this declaration they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the 23d of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand, general Manteuffell, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published, in answer to this, a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the king of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

In the mean time, marshal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little

garrison they had at Wollin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the 29th of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the 2d day of January, after the Swedes had, on the 30th of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Marechal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripfus, and Nebringen. At the same time, lieutenant-general Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Swinnemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of an hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guaranties of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: But his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request,

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allegding, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted with his troops a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council, too, seeing, or pretending to see, the behaviour of the landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year.

The court of Great Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so : But in vain ; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the states-general had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their high mightinesses a further remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the 28th of November of this year, by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria :—
 “ Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of the year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your high mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands. It was with the utmost surprise the king heard, that, without any previous consent of your's, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it : But whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made

use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your high mightinesses. The king never doubted that your high mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your high mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the empress-queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident, that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late demand made to your high mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights. The king commands me, therefore, to recal to your high mightinesses the two fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your high mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your high mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht on the 11th of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: "It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever,

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to the power and authority of the most christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France." In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: "His imperial and catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria, alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the states-general." A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your high mightinesses: And whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your high mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands. The king hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your high mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonstrance had the desired effect upon the states-general, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

The king of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniencies of war, and that he ran the risque of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian majesty is said to have written an expostulatory letter * to the king of great Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities ; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the king of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived, that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacts or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper, the king of Great Britain declared, that the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his majesty as king : That he saw in the same light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening the subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers : That he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection, the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Ne-

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Expostulatory letter from the king of Prussia to George II.

* The letter, which was written in French, we have translated, for the reader's satisfaction.

" I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune ? Are affairs so ruinous, that they cannot be repaired ! I hope your majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majesty ; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the 26th of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

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therlands to France, in such a critical situation, and contrary to their faith of the most solemn treaties : That whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the king of Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprise, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation ; reduced, as its friends and partizans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connexions.

Hostilities
recommen-
ced in Ha-
nover.

His Britannic majesty was resolved, that the king of Prussia should have no cause to complain at his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army in their retreat before the enemy were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of altercation. The general complained, that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover ; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their de-

fence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his most christian majesty: While the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the king of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill usage, to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used with reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: But the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit,

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the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers ; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the king of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befel that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy ; and his own sentiments, in this particular, were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, published a declaration, observing, " That his royal highness the duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention ; but the duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms ; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed : That the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only, and, indeed, it was originally nothing more : But as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was first an agreement between general and general was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles : That, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining her army and his dominions ; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention : That, in the midst of the armistice, the most open hostilities had been committed ; the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and

the garrison made prisoners of war ; the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners ; the bailies of those districts from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue : The French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops ; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard-of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation."—Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannic majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination, that he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannic majesty. The truth is, the king of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army. The duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to prince Ferdinand, specifying, " That although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been established between the duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general : That he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed

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into winter quarters, which had been assigned them by agreement ; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable : He affirmed, the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood : With that view he declared to his serene highness, in the name of his most christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army ; but he could not help apprising his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorised so to do by the rules of war : That he would set fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens ; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his most serene highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was seconded by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador who had meditated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

About the latter end of November, the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebbsforff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg, and, in a

few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenbourg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the 6th day of December, prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep walks of his Britannic majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops on divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcilable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time, his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters into the city of Hano-

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ver, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought from the out-parties with various success. Their imperial majesties were no sooner apprised of these transactions, which they considered as infractions, of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable. In consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the czarina had signed her accession in form to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm.

Death of
the queen
of Poland.

In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the 16th day of November, the queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by grief and anxiety, conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The states-general proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the king of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandize which were deemed contraband by all nations.

The operations at sea, during the course of this year either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers of which a great number

had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell in the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruizers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Acquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and, about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruizers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the 23d day of the month, he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: Then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily re-taken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible whose main-mast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engage-

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ment against both, as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty to tow the Terrible* into St. Maloes, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea-encounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, captain Lockhart a young gentlemen, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

Parliamentary proceedings.

On the 1st day of December, the king of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His majesty graciously de-

* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

clared, that it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the opening of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which, he trusted, might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniencies, and in this cause he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the king of Prussia might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the commons he expressed his concern, that the large supplies they had already granted, did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service, and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful œconomy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom. He laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing

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their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves.

The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the house of commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have enquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burden of a continental war. They would have owned, that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: A trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connections and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They should have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the œconomy to be used in managing the national expence. Finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the sovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and those happy days

were now approaching that saw the commons of En-
 gland pour their treasures, in support of a German
 prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be
 amazed at their liberality.

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To the speech of his majesty the house of lords returned an address in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued. Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the house, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seven pounds seven shillings and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds five shillings and eight pence: Towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds; For the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds seventeen shillings and eleven pence: Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds:

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For defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence three farthings. To the Foundling hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds, for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds four shillings and ninepence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckbourg, together with that of general and staff-officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from the 28th day of November in the last, to the 24th of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds six shillings and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds thirteen shillings and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and losses whatsoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary ex-

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pences of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred fifty-four pounds fifteen shillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia; for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred seventeen pounds seventeen shillings and six-pence, half-penny; to be applied towards the re-building of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, they allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements. The sum of ten thousand pounds was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten million four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the

parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million eight hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred ninety-seven pounds four shillings and eight-pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles II. and what part of the sum granted to the king for extraordinary expences might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expence incurred by expeditions to the coast of France, the chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coast required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed, the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruizer would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realize those articles of supply, con-

fisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the exchequer, produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferrable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security*—one million six hundred and six thousand and seventy-six pounds five shillings one penny one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund—a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds—an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above

* It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each, the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the 1st day of January, in the year 1759; and that the sum of four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the 5th day of July in the present year, which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the 29th day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the Bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the house of commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise; that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription, previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments, to the respective times on which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made

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all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the 5th day of April—an additional tax of six-pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of British gun-powder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expence—an annual tax of forty shillings for a license to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all draw-backs payable on the exportation of silver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wines, without having first procured a license for that purpose—and a loan by exchequer bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds six shillings and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds six shillings and nine pence; so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of a house of commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions three hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and ten pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in Christendom.

The liberality of the parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the house by Mr.

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secretary Pitt, signifying, That the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the king of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorste having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the house, the king relying on the constant zeal of his faithful commons for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the house the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the Protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the Protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The states-general of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the Protestant religion, would surely have lent an helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealous

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lously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would not join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible, that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other Protestant states of the empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandisement of the Catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any Protestant state or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the Protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude, that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general luke-warmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of king William, when the act of settlement was passed, in the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: But now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: A stretch of complaisance, which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign

of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

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New treaty
with the
king of
Prussia.

So fully persuaded were the ministry that the commons would cheerfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the 11th of April they concluded a new treaty or convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy-counsellors who had any share in the administration†. This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imported, "That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorised their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations:—The king of Great Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such person as should be authorised to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security, proposed by their said majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace,

† These were, sir Robert Henley, lord-keeper of the great seal; John earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq; another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name, and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Louis Michel, his resident and charge d'affaires.

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truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated, that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible."

All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: But the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The commons having presented an address to his majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the house, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion, that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great Britain: That, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: That if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the distressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed, and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for for-

tifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the house, a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn, as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the 24th day of December in the present year, the three acts of last session, for prohibiting the exportation of corn, for prohibiting the distillation of spirits, and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole house, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary: But this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the lower house, engaged in a very particular

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manner the attention of the lords, who, by divers messages to the house of commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality, and the house unanimously resolved, that a message should be sent to the lords, acquainting them that the house of commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the house would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the house of lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the house of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed: And the bill having passed through their house, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his majesty's assent. The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: This was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army: For this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown could allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants, and manufacturers

of silk, offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protacted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable : That from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act ; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated: They, therefore, prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzined silk as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the 1st day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the house complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance ; and in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual*.

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* Among those rendered perpetual we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in an act of the 6th of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river ; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the 29th day of September, in the year one thou-

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The lord mayor, alderman, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the house of commons, alledging, that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious, and insufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London presented another petition, alledging, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve

said seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of the next session of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c. until the 24th day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madler roots. V. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail cloth, until the 29th day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British made gun-powder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies, until the 29th of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And, VIII. so much of the act of the 15th and 16th of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the 29th of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at further considerable expence; that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging, London-bridge was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the house to take the premisses into consideration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: They said, they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alleged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built: That the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built: That when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: That there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and

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commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the house. The bill being, on a motion of sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.

The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder; a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tithe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary, it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the 20th year of the present reign, entitled, "An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of certain servants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws in behalf of the poor, as those that are daily accumulating in England. In no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity, as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration. The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by these apprehensions, sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for

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leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, and lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, "An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England." The preamble specified, That though, by an act passed in the 18th year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, presumed to vote at such elections: This act, therefore ordained that from and after the 29th day of June in the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature*. So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences; but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of license, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every

* For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alleging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: That every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

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election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the house to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session, under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant law-suits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manors, lands tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: But this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates were incumbered, because, in consequence of such a register every mortgage under which they laboured would be

exactly known. The next object to which the house converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fishmongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffic gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant impositions. Enquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: At length the bill, having passed through the lower house, was conveyed to the lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

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The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session for recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: For it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty; for, according to the writ of habeas-copus, passed in the reign of Charles II. this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence; of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and presented to the house of commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, That the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the

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reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in cases of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever: That upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, an habeas-corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: That the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas-corpus granted in the vacation time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: But in the house of lords such a great number of objections were started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that house in the next session.

His majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling hospital the house of commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further consideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their

deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose ; but before the house could take the report into consideration, the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the *Antigallican*, which had taken a rich French ship homeward bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice ; representing the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the house should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power, the house, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses : But this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

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As we have already given a detail of the trial of sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstances of that affair, except such as relate to its connections with the proceedings of parliament. In the beginning of this session, lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed, the house, by his majesty's command, that lieutenant-general sir John Mordaunt, a member of that house, was in arrest for disobedience of his majesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The commons immediately resolved, that an address should be represented to his majesty, returning him the thanks of this house for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for

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putting lieutenant-general sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the house, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a message from his majesty, was presented to the house, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in and trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alledging that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: That this misfortune, they believed was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: That, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: That the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave trade to Africa: That, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast; they therefore prayed, that this part of the act might be repealed: That all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the ware-houses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases, without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their re-

spective owners. The house having taken this petition C H A P.
into consideration, enquired into the proceedings of the VIII.
company, and revised the act for extending and im-
proving the trade to Africa, resolved, that the commit-
tee of the African company had faithfully discharged
the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand
pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements
in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly
well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles
on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well
how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the
attempt which, in the course of the preceding year,
they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea,
would have succeeded, and all the other settlements
would have fallen into their hands without opposition *.

The longest and warmest debate which was main-
tained in the course of this session arose from a motion
for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and
duration of future parliaments; a measure truly patriot-
ical, against which no substantial argument could be
produced, although the motion was rejected by the ma-
jority, on pretence, that, whilst the nation was en-
gaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would
be improper to think of introducing such an altera-
tion in the form of government. Reasons of equal
strength and solidity will never be wanting to the pa-
trons and ministers of corruption and venality. The
alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and
annulling an encroachment which had been made on the
constitution: It might have been effected without the
least pang of convulsion, to the general satisfaction of
the nation: Far from being unreasonable at this juncture,
it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad,

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* Robert Hunter Morris represented, in petition to the house, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risque and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the house a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table, afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which however made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for unless we suppose the house of commons were of the opinion that such an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing ale-houses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

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and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick succession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the sovereign's predilection for the interest of Hanover. Other committees were established, to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England; consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations. together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, but no further progress was made in this enquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the house, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. On the 9th day of June, sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his majesty being indisposed; and, on the 20th day of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings; in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts; in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty; in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour; proofs which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand, that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes: That, with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine: That he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Prussia, by new engagements: That the British fleets and armies were

now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms : In particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great Britain. The commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given, and assured, on the part of his majesty, that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects ; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures, and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy ; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace : Such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in

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which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularised the inactivity of one general in North America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectation: He complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: He observed, that with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commander in America was founded on mistake: The inactivity of that noble lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the public, but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army. All sorts of military preparations in foundaries, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and dispatch, as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter, the princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

Death of
the Princess
Caroline.

The British cruizers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: Falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near *Dungenness*, he ran her aboard, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in *Jamaica*, of an action which happened off the island of *Hispaniola*, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains *Suckling* and *Langdon*. He was ordered to cruise off *cape Francois*, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under *Kersin*, lately arrived at that place from the coast of *Africa*. This commander piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of these seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant ships then lying at the cape, bound for *Europe*, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short

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council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (said he) "you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he aded, "Then fight them we will; "there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and "get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze, and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts, and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: Their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kerfin had taken his departure from cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attempt on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and captain For-

rest directed to cruize off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at cape Nicholas. Accordingly, captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forebore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: They returned the fire for some time; at length the *Marguerite*, the *Solide*, and the *Theodore* struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the *Maurice*, *Le Grand*, and *La Flore*; the *Brilliant* also submitted, and the *Mars* made sail, in hopes of escaping, but the *Augusta* coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

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The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North-America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th day of February, when the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran a-ground, and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month. Sir Edward Hawke steered into the bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the same time, the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruized between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena on the coast of Spain. On the 28th day of March, he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships namely, the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, the *Orphée*, of sixty-four, the *Oriflamme*, of fifty, and the *Pleiade* frigate, of twenty-four in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: Then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Storr, in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French na-

ry, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life: Nevertheless, the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton-court appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships Montague and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailor. This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the disaster was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, sir Edward Hawke, steering with his Squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the Isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea; but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and, next morning, they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreast of the Isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered this scheme impracticable. In the mean time the French threw over board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-

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borne by the flowing tide. By these means, their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure. A third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was overbalanced by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the *Pluto* fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

On the 29th day of May, the *Raisonné*, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis, in the *Dorsetshire*, of seventy guns, and taken, after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging. These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befel the ship *Prince George*, of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the 13th day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who

entered it accordingly ; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney sloop. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smok : Nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction : Nothing was seen but acts of phrenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea, and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

The king of Great Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition ; the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and sir Edward Hawke : The other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough ; a nobleman who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart : He was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion, he was assisted by the councils of lord George Sackville, second in com-

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mand, son to the duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea: Lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships and harass their navigation; while commodore Howe with the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancale, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe, having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further opposition, on the 6th day of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancale, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander

in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic majesty: That all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations: That, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Maloes he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes, he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters, to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: But the offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestible proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small store-house to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district. The British forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in

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the bay of Cancele for several days, during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: But in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were reshipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the landing; nevertheless, the general resolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside, but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly, but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly upon the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the

issue of an enterprize achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: But whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: But in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville, being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service. The remainder of the troops being reimbarbed, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces. At first, a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the west-

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ward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the entrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While these ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent : On the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began ; but the French edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piquered with the advanced posts of the English. In the mean time, the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces ; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence, that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville ; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and la Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quit their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return ; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without

restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason, and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England, but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out parties of each army, in one of which capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and bason of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight entrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flatbottomed vessels. On the 16th day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

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This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: But St. Maloes itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above itsult, either from the land forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its bason extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land batteries, and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channel; besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the bason was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloes was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

British defeated at
St. Cas.

On Friday the 8th of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: Next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses

to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: For he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking: For this reason a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strong of blind security and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption: But, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinc-

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tion ; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged ; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore, to cover the re-embarkation ; and a considerable number of sea-officers was stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats-crew, and regulate the service ; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun ; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills ; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense ; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion : But by this time they had extended themselves

into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the entrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of insatiation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma, their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke; and, in less than five minutes after the engagement began, they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way, than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water. A small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havock was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: But this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: Nor was the advantage cheaply

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purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war hath subjected to our power: Let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment: They will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draught-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: For this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war; and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanness and the exterior ornaments of dress: They become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: They are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly com-

mand : They are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element ; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office ; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine : They give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication ; commit a thousand excesses ; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased ; they lose all sense of honour, and of shame ; they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor overawed by the authority of officers ; in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour, and defeat ? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French king to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places : They serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great Britain, and secure its coast from invasion : But these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expence, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat : That the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign : That a general ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view : That a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the general, in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Maloes was laid aside ; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object ; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received ; communicating by beat of drum his midnight motions

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to an enemy of double his force ; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles ; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea captains ; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

The success of the attempt to Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph ; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage. They published a pompous narrative of the battle of St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament ; nor was any enterprise of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruizers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta ; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruizers belonging to the fleet com-

manded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In the month of November, the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a shew of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and without firing a shot surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.—By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects together with letters of credit and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London the lords of the admiralty promised, in the *Gazette*, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffic not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruizers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great

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number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: Sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for having, by these captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the Republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the states-general; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the states, represented, that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: That he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made, with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English governments to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

Petition of
the Dutch
merchants
to the
states-general.

These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds, and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation: While, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the states had sustained, from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formed professions of respect. Such was the

memorial delivered by the count d'Affry, intimating, that the empress queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her imperial majesty think proper. The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the states-general, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their high mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose, they offered to contribute each his contingent and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the princess governante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time, she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and without doubt, her healing councils were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

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Expeditions against the coast of Africa——British success in North America——Bravery of captain Tyrrel——East-India affairs——Progress of the war in Germany——The French driven out of Hanover——Various engagements with them——Operations of the king of Prussia——He defeated the Russians at Zorndorff——Is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen——Miserable state of Saxony——Assassination of the king of Portugal.

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Expeditions
against the
French settle-
ment on
the coast of
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THE whole strength of Great Britain during this campaign was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum-trade, from cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort-Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the Island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming a sensible Quaker, who as a private merchant had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli *. He found

* The names the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of the gum Coast, and called in maps the Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared that he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming, not only perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold-dust, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest Quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort-Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of six hundred land-forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from lord Ligonier, the lords of the admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for the service. After repeated solicitation he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two buffes, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant

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in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprize. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition*. This little armament sailed in the begining of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter written in the Arabick language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable-Moors†; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal: But she assured him, that should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops, and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and

* On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act.—If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacific system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

† This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the 22d day of April he weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to an anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river; and there he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Miller, of the London buss, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides until the buxies and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an entrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the

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governor of Fort-Louis. After some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandise and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, store houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort-Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country*. The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke, they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their entrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort-Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort-Louis accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

advance immediately struck their flag; and major Ma-
 son took possession of the castle, where he found nine-
 ty-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise
 to a considerable value. The corporation and burgh-
 ers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore alle-
 giance to his Britannic majesty: The neighbouring
 princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the
 commander, and concluded treaties with the English
 nation, and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli,
 sent an ambassador from his camp to major Mason,
 with presents, compliments of congratulation, and as-
 surances of friendship. The number of free indepen-
 dent negroes and mulattoes settled at Senegal amount-
 ed to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves
 and possessions of their own. The two French fac-
 tories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine
 hundred miles farther up the river, were included in
 the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without
 striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest,
 from which, with proper management, she may de-
 rive inconceivable riches. This important acqui-
 sition was in a great measure, if not entirely, ow-
 ing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of
 Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and
 solicited the armament, but also attended the execution
 of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the in-
 terruption of his private concerns.

Fort-Louis being secured with an English garrison,
 and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the
 bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceed-
 ed to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which
 lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal.
 There the French company had considerable magazines
 and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they
 could be shipped for the West Indies. If the addition-
 al force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest
 of this island had been added to the armament in all
 probability the island would have been reduced, and in
 that case the nation would have saved the considerable
 expence of a subsequent expedition against it, under
 the conduct of commodore Keppel. At present, the
 ships by which Goree was attacked were found une-
 qual to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried ac-
 cordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with
 little or no damage to the assailants.

Scenes of still greater importance were acted in
 North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and ma-
 rines, the government had assembled about fifty thou-
 sand British suc-
 cess in
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land men, including two-and-twenty thousand regular troops. The earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on major-general Abercrombie; but, as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort situated on lake Champlain: Eight thousand, under the conduct of Brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-general Amherst being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the 28th of May, and on the second of June, part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line*, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach: Entrenchments were thrown

* The *Prudent* of 74 guns, the *Entreprenant* of 74 guns, the *Capricieux*, *Celebre*, and *Pionnissant*, of 64 guns each; the *Apollon* of 50 guns, the *Chevre*, *Bionne*, *Fidelle*, *Diana*, and *Echo* frigates.

up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked. The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops, under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the 8th day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time, the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemies batteries, which did considerable execution, brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also, but not without an obstinate opposition; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

The governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for ma-

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king a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time, brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Lighthouse point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the 19th day of June, the *Echo*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruizers, after having escaped from the harbour: From the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned, that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the *Comete* had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the 21st day of July, the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes, so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the 25th and 26th days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The *Prudent*, being a-ground, was set on fire and destroyed, but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore; with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken or destroyed, the caserns *

* It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while Louis-

ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port-Mahon. In answer to this proposal, he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under admiral Boscawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the 27th day of July, three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores magazines and ramparts. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape-Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms, but the garrison, together with the sea officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who was also entrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg: These were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards,

bourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war was, in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer!

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with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

After the reduction of Cape-Breton, some ships were detached, with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulf of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle had since the beginning of the war supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted, and brought in their arms: Then lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with about ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John, was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprize, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the neighbourhood of lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred

and thirty-five whale-boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it advisable to march back to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the royal Americans, with the batteauxmen, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had assembled

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eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable entrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river†; but upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning, sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: The carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The general, by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred

† The officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawks river, but was recalled before he could execute his design. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity, but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaus, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander; his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such cases, allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connexion. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: He might, therefore, have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprise when he should be reinforced in his turn; for general Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster, than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

In the mean time, general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaus, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure,

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commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was inconsiderable and ill contrived; nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandize and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprise against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandize which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving his orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal: Nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Laurence.

In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, entrusted to the conduct of brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: A very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours, against cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the 24th day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a block-house, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of

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Pennsylvania ; but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service.

Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America : The reader will be convinced that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages ; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

Goree taken.

The conquest of the French settlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Corke in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the 11th day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the Isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this Island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form ; and on the south-west side, rising into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island ; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his gar-

rison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed a long-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broad sides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action, the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrisons had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell; and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and executions of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money and merchandise to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel ships to France, the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort-Louis with the rest of the troops, under colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the king of Legibelli: But very little pains were taken to dis-

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mifs this potentate in good humour, or maintain the difpofition he professed to favour the commerce of Great Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Litchfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers perished on this occasion but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risk of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: So little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connection.

The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the Island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which hap-

Bravery of
captain
Tyrrel.

pened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruize in his own ship, the Buckingham, by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward islands, he fell in with the Weazle sloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the island of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry, and the Weazle running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage : nevertheless Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship the Florissant, tho' of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chace, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length, he came along side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand ; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life : Then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal deliberation, and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length, confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight ; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue with any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with the two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number from

B O O K taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the *Florissant* did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

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Operations
in the East
Indies.

In the East Indies, the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but on the whole the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Buffly, had in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Buffly made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bander-malanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Massulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French, under M. D'Anteuil invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, colonel Forde made an attempt upon the fort of Nellore, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as ren-

dered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of C H A P. IX.
 admiral Pococke, who had succeeded admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the 24th day of march, admiral Pococke, who had already signa- 1758.
 lized himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days, he described in the road of fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it advisable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed; the enemy showed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they had weathered him at night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward, but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East Indies, which over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one-fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of

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three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; two were dismissed from the service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

In the mean time, Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. A much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras, he was subjected to a court of enquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer, with colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras.

Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the 10th of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the 30th day of the month, he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then received intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the 25th day of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and, in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing, than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the 3d day of August, when having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down

upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides, but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apche set his fore-sail, and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular manner. The British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September, their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's*, resolved to extort a sum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: But after he had prosecuted the siege until a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his can-

* Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

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non behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time the land-forces belonging to the East-India company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

Having particularised the events of the war which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the ambitious designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign electorate, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalised the former campaign, the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonised, old prejudices rooted up inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the king of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the king of Great Britain seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The empress

queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: For this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and, therefore, she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest. In pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four-and-twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the empress-queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The czarina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her General Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders: But in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved, that either

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the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded the Pruffians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms againſt the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almoſt without oppoſition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Pruffian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time made himſelf maſter of all Swediſh Pomerania, except Stralfund and the iſle of Rugen, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral magazines which the enemy had erected. The Auſtrian army, after their defeat at Breſlau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koningsgratz. The king of Pruffia having cleared all his part of Sileſia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, ſent detachments from his army contoned in the neighbourhood of Breſlau, to penetrate into the Auſtrian or ſouthern part of Sileſia, where they ſurprized Troppau and Jaggersdorf, while he himſelf remained at Breſlau, entertaining his officers with concerts of muſic. Not that he ſuffered theſe amuſements to divert his attention from ſubjects of greater importance. Helaid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution, and made a freſh demand of five hundred thouſand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French miniſter. The ſtates of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Pruffian majeſty's injunction, received a ſecond intimation, importing, that they ſhould levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thouſand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commiſſary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand crowns, on pain of military execution. The ſtates were immediately convoked at Leipzick, in order to deliberate on theſe demands; and the city being unable to pay ſuch a conſiderable ſum, the Pruffian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He juſtified theſe proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practiſed

the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the king of Prussia declared they might depend upon his protection.

Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field be the empress-queen of Hungary, and the states of the empire, the czarina, the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

In the month of December, in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faigy, to whom the French king granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most christian majesty in the course

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of the campaign ; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French king, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues, should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies : That the magistrates of the towns, district, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the 1st of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the 18th day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven and Bremeworden*, the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the 9th day of August ; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued ; for, by the decree above mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles ? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most christian majesty ?

* Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, being desirous of C H A P.
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promised to renounce all connexion with the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependents; for, on the 18th day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions. The landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: That he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire: That, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: That, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: That these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: That the king of France should guarantee all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the emperor and the empress-queen; that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his serene highness should be attacked, his

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most christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and, if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great Britain: But he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: In the course of which his troops were hired to the king of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: But now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the king of Great Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven, he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negotiation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the 20th day of September, his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French king and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his most christian majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in

their arsenals : That the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed ; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies : That the duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles ; but the regulations made by the marshal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing : That the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire : That his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled ; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the emperor. In consideration of all these concessions, the duke was restored to the favour of the French king, who graciously promised, that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded ; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expostulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family ; insisting upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops ; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual†. Notwithstand-

† Translation of the letter written by the duke of Brunswick to his brother prince Ferdinand :

“ S I R,

“ I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness ; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern ; indeed it afflicts me greatly. Mean while I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity

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ing this warm remonstrance, prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops, and the hereditary prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalized himself by very extraordinary acts of

of telling you that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitutions of the empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The hereditary prince, my son, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: Could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have staid with the Hanoverians; would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? And would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as our's to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: They have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support?—I repeat it, brother, that this design could never have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction. If you would (which I pray God avert), I solemnly declare, that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home: The said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled; and an incident happening, they halted: That obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles, and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated, with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your express too long, I shall send you, by the post, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.

“Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757.”

bravery and conduct ; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

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The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire. The French king was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Prussia. The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmengen, the electoral minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He enumerated many instances in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprizes were executed by detachments, with various success. The Hanoverian general, Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimbourg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the

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B O O K French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large
 III body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to
 Acherleben, committed great excesses in the town of
 Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Har-
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 sack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January, the duke de Bro-
 gliio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Otterburgh, Rothenburgh, and the adja-
 cent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening, that, in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment—the duke de Richelieu's orders are peremp-
 tory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the duke de Brogliio, signifying their compliance, and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised upon his honour, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of prince George of Holstein Gottorb, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburgh, Otterburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and op-

pression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and distemper arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse; but their apprehensions were happily disappointed, by the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: An act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to heaven, on their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their sermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand

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men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The hereditary prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valour and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched on the attack of Minden, which he invested on the 5th day of March, and on the 14th the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of the city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his headquarters; but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and some artillery. Such was the

French
driven out
of Hano-
ver.

precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage ; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishoprick of Munster : Here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May, he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duysburg, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June, the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kaisersworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken ; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time, the count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong entrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced.

The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse ; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the prince de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the count de Clermont ; and as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity and example. The mareschal duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissioners : An abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the

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total extinction of laudable emulation. The prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. After several motions on both sides, prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken : The conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was entrusted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim ; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the prince of Holstein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick ; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on the left flank ; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the 23d day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move ; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the village of Worst and Anrath ; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony ; and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended.

These precautions being taken, prince Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp, and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover. He, therefore, determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Mean while, the cavalry on the right, in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the entrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners*. This victory, however, which cost the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its con-

French defeated.

* Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement was the count de Gisors, only son of the marshal duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family; a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

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sequences ; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dosseldorp, which prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

It was at this period that count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced. He even threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the prince of Ysenbourg at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau, with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel : His vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country ; and the prince of Ysenbourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped, that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Coutades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The prince of Ysenbourg was, on the 23d day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen, by the duke de Broglio, whom the prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops, greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at

Cassel, that the Hessian troops, under the prince of Ysenbourg, were retired towards Munden, he advanced, on the 23d of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangarhausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first, his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground, but the duke de Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: But the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The prince of Ysenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men: But, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

The progress of prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle, or a retreat across the Rhine: The first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position, he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldres, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: Besides, he had reason to apprehend that the prince de Soubise

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would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place, prince Ferdinand received intelligence that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct, and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This general having received advice, on the 4th of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from whence he

could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that, after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: Besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expence.

Immediately after this action, general Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce general Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: From thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design into execution, and the whole army passed on the 10th day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt: To which place general Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gotten-gen, and seemed determined to attack the prince of

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Ysenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom general Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, general Oberg decamped on the 10th of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked major-general Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglie. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the

other side of the Weser ; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterstheim, where they encamped. In this engagement general Obergloft about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from this victory.

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By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head quarters at Munster, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: So that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year. when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat ; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field ; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander. the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

Having thus particularised the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the king of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form, on the 21st day of March ; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that, in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an ob-

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stinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time, the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of mareschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna†. Over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the empire, which the prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

The king of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops, near Niefs, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general de la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the king was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war, as to leave a fortified place in the

† At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden being admitted into Japan palace, to see the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceiving a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thousand tents, and other field utensils. These had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: They were immediately seized by the commandant; and distributed among the troops of prince Henry's army.

rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: Orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and mareschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Meanwhile, the Austrian commander, count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomysfel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally, to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts the of besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the nights, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue, and liable to surprize; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the king finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Mareschal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist

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from his enterprize. He sent general Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The king of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately dispatched general Ziethen, with a strong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been sick, and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the 28th day of June; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and, next day, the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side: The communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with general Puttkammer; and the king of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize. This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by general Marshal the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire, without loss, in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage; a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marechal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posenitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the king had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the 1st day of July, when he de-

camped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. C H A P.
 He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz, IX.
 and mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, general Laschi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau, with a detachment of grenadiers who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomysfel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but mareschal Keith coming up, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the mareschal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysfel to Koningsgratz, where general Buccow who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the entrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussians troops, as they arrived, passed over the little river Adler; and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian entrenchments; but general Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Koningsgratz without further opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia

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to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions; but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed ready to change her system, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress-queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: She divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the 22d his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick. The resident of the czarina actually demanded, that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: A demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negotiation with general Fermer, the affair was compromised: He desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer, turning to the left, advanced towards Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the 1st of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of

their coffacks, penetrating into the province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: But he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Marechal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and, on the 22d day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

The king of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and, on the 25th day of July, quitted the camp at Koningsgratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: But notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the 9th day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where he encamped. The Russians, under general Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchen. The king being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the 25th in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of

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Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was out-numbered, did not decline the dispute ; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frize, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault ; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole, left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydlitz ; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack, This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance : At length general Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havock was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening, the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation, which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their intention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost above fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The vic-

tory cost the king above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorise *. The Prussian army passed the night

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* A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befel this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness :

“ On the 13th of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread, that a body of Russian hussars and cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we are certainly informed, that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meserick and Konigswalda, by the way of Landsburgh. A reinforcement was immediately sent to our piquet-guard in the suburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were soon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction, mounted on English horses, reconnoitering our fortification through perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire : Then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb ; and the reinforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of lieutenant-general Scherlemmer.—The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb : The four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and the fortification ; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long suburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, colonel Schuck, went with a small party to observe the enemy ; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning, the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous yellings of the cossacks belonging to the Russian army. Alarmed at this horrid noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light

under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the enemy, who, nevertheless, maintained that position, without flinching. On the 27th, they

horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I discovered a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening : From these they now played on our piquet-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire. Then they fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places ; and the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail ; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells, which, bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail ; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain, I endeavoured to return, and save some of my effects ; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russians first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined ; and many who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custrin : The roads were filled with objects of misery ; and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair ; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses ; in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes : Nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the pile and stielings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at some millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted ; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants, for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest

seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors. Instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vierzle, and posted themselves between the river Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, general Fermer*, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian majesty the humble request of general Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: He refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of general Browne; and concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

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The king of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Marschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin, with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September

of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

* General Fermer was of a Scottish extract, and general Browne actually a native of North Britain.

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he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the empire, encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein, to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the generals Haarache and de Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortrefs of Koningstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the prince of Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the king of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau, yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favourable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king having detached general Ratzow on his left, to take possession of Wissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this situation, Mareschal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a

very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the 13th and 14th of October favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury; for, notwithstanding impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage and confusion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, Mareschal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where mareschal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate; prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and re-

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doubled resolution ; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians ; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch ; and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effects in its full extent, for the Prussians were the next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The king of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of marshal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune *.

* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin, from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field marshal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen ; but by some fatality he miscarried. Marshal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon : Then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Marshal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy ; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place ; being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspire the troops to

His Prussian majesty remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement, but count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hockkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour count Daun having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and de Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against

their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the mareschal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback; when Mr. Tibay, told him the field-mareschal was lying wounded on the field, he asked if his wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation he was perceived by count Laszi, son of the general of that name, with whom mareschal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the mareschal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognised the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Oczakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered, and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hockkirchen; and, finally, removed to Berlin by order of the king of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

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him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and in sight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of general Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but, at the same time by another route, detached strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed, his designs were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipstick, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction, the second by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under general Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipstick, and even invested that city. During these transactions, general Haddick advanced against Torgau.

The field marshal count Daun appearing on the 6th of November, within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the 8th his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions which were posted, at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars; at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the

ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates, that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented in the most submissive strain, that, as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the 9th day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions in the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor, expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning, the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. Every bosom, warmed with benevolence, must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers, but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day mareschal Daun sent an officer to count Schmettau, with a message, expressing his surprise at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken, and assured him, that he should be responsible, in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what

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remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency ; for should he think proper to attack the place he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorised by the practice of war ; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in the enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations : But, on this occasion, he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence ; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which, however, he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, *in foro conscientiae*, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist, with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the diet of the empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war which the king of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witchen suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors : That the violence of the flames was kept up by red hot balls fired into the houses and along the streets : That the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms : That those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers, posted in the streets for that purpose. He enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity ; and declared, that a great number of people perished, either

amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation. But the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance. Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the Baron solemnly assured the diet, that the king of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He, therefore, declared, that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw, oil upon the flames, must answer to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed; for the devastation of so many countries and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were princes taught to believe, that there is really an Omnipotent and All-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands, is, at least, as criminal as private murder.

While count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the 3d day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian general, De Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian govern-

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or, Theskau, till the 1st day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached general Fouquet, with a body of troops, across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia and De Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved than the king of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time, the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel, penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that river at Thorn; and the other had, during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general, Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipstick. Mean while, the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the 10th day of November, count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and, on the 20th, the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct.

The Russian general foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltic, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached general Palmbach, with fifteen thousand men, to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the 3d day of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six-and-twenty days, at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat.

Thus, by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals, and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiß, Cosel, Torgau, Leipzick, and Dresden.

The variety of fortune which the king of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly, without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months, he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design: That he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him: That in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies: That after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province: That, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries: That in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory

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sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipfick, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of fix hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand, the magistrates represented, that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies: That the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning, the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market places, cœmeteries, towers, and steeples: Then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Haufs, who told them the king his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect: "We have no more money—we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain! who knowest such grievances only by report! When the king of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon his last arrival at Dresden he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a

certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that, for the future, he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers: A retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the king of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents: A method proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sopher towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcilable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

Having recovered all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularise the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of

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the year, the Prussian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired ; but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm, were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use ; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier ; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Cragoe and Amagh ; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five and twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The king of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, dispatched general Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march ; so that, on the 20th of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men,

at the head of whom he proceeded against count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intended to take winter-quarters in the Isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

The king of Prussia was not only favoured by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The diet of the republic was opened on the second day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected marshal; but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the king in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the marshal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a *senatus consilium*, to concert

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proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The king of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburg confession. His polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming, that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the king of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the empress-queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate king of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire, copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect: "Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulick council of the empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the noblesse of the empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the *avocatoria* of the empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the king of Great Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandizement of the house of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: That the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions: That she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg: That his imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: That the emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they

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were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour and estate; and that the king of England himself was threatened with the ban of the empire. He took notice, that, in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he acknowledged, that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the king of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous *conclusum* of the Germanic body; That, with respect to his alliance with the king of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured: And surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, Hesse, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration. He owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged, that he had resented the conduct, and chastised the injustice, of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the duke of Brunswick, and the landgrave of Hesse-

Cassel, because they had supplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries, surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war, who had favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty, that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the empress-queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg. For this purpose, the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the king of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and intituled, "A parallel of the conduct of the king of France with that of the king of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published; in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the king of Great Britain after the defeat at Collin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: Accordingly, she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly that a war upon the

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continent was inevitable ; and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, " that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies ; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces, and aspire at conquests." Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry, founded upon eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove, that it was not the interest of Great Britain to maintain a war upon the continent ; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by sea, which may be termed the British element ; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents, were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm, that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the empress-queen, and demonstrate the oppressive measures adopted by the imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community ; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

If the empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August, the pope conferred upon her the title of apostolical queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of

her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith, under this holy banner. This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway, under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the 84th year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cœli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name, of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached: In his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict."

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Death of
Pope Bene-
dict.

The king of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. The king of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: But in the latter end of the season his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine: Perhaps all these motives concur-

Attempt to
assassinate
the king of
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red in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the 3d day of September, the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musketoes, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign, drove the mules at full speed ; a circumstance which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The flugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood ; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration ; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence. The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins ; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered : A conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The duke de Aveiro, of the fami-

ly of Mascarenhas ; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of horse ; the count de Attouguia, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings, on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators will be particularised among the transactions of the following year. At present, it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad consequences ; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

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Affairs in
France.

The domestic occurrences of France were issued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had interposed his authority ; first proposing an accommodation ; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction ; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recal and reinstate those venerable patriots ; and, being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus : He even acted with redoubled zeal ; intrigued with the other prelates ; caballed among the inferior clergy ; and not only revived, but augmented the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation : They remonstrated, and persevered ; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money

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to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly out-numbered the French upon the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruizers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and, in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their storeships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent, were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova Scotio; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruizers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, which did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland,

by cruizing in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the north sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland; others cruized in the chops of the channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the leeward islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and from the sugar-colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

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With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the king of Denmark wisely pursued that course which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours; he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers; he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects; he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the Protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expence, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus* which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany. However he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom, whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the king of Prussia circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted, that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own

Conduct of
the king of
Denmark.

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interest, as to permit the empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the empire, but, even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above one hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connection, but a common alliance arising from accident. The king of Denmark, though himself a prince of the empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing; and, by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but overawed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might chuse to trim the balance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire.

The United Provinces, though as averse as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not however, so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: At least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret bias in favour of the enemies of Great Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruizers, and condemned as

legal prizes, for having French property on board : C H A P.
 That the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, IX.
 exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, 
 petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and 1758.
 even loudly clamoured for a war against Great Britain.
 The charge of violence and injustice which they
 brought against the English, for taking and confiscat-
 ing the ships that transported to Europe the produce of
 the French islands in the West Indies, they founded on
 the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between
 Great Britain and the states-general of the United Pro-
 vinces, concluded in the year one thousand six hundred
 and sixty eight, stipulating, " That whatever shall
 be found on board the ships of the subjects of the Uni-
 ted Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may
 belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free
 and unmolested ; except these be prohibited goods,
 which are to be served in the manner prescribed by the
 foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch mer-
 chants argued, that, if there were no prohibited goods
 on board, the English had no right to stop or molest a-
 ny of their ships, or make the least enquiry to whom
 the merchandise belonged, whence it was brought or
 whither bound. This plea the English casuists would
 by no means admit, for the following reasons : A ge-
 neral and perpetual license to carry on the whole trade
 of their enemy would be such a glaring absurdity, as
 no convention could authorize. Common sense had
 dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be sup-
 posed to have consented to an absurdity ; therefore, the
 interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could
 not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning ;
 which indeed relates to nothing more than the common
 course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of
 peace. But even should this interpretation be accept-
 ed, the article, and the treaty itself would be super-
 seded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, conclu-
 ded between the two nations in the year one thousand
 six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed
 since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, That
 neither of the contracting parties should give, nor con-
 sent, that any of their subjects and inhabitants should
 give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly,
 by land or sea, or on the fresh waters ; nor should fur-
 nish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their re-
 spective territories to furnish any ship, soldiers, seaman,

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victuals, monies, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessaries for making war to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever. Now the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances, during the present war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the king of Great Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked: For nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the states-general of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace, no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar-island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West Indies; consequently, the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined, that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that na-

tion, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West Indies were so blocked up by the English cruizers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them, without falling under this predicament*. It was for these reasons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the states-general, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their high mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a license to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandise of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risks in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchants ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the states-general could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British

* In the reign of king William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that they should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who signified his sentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatise on the law of nature and nations.

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ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expence at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the states-general, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self interest, which operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great Britain. In the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, staves, and lumber from Ireland, and the British colonies in North America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subjects, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connection of mutual interest subsisting between Great Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such a traffic.

Conferences
between the
British am-
bassador
and states-
general.

Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the states-general, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the princess regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great Bri-

tain; and those co-operating with representation made C H A P.
 by the states-general, the English minister was empow- IX.
 ered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring
 all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. 1753.
 These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The
 British cruizers continued to take, and the British
 courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the
 produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants
 of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with
 redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation,
 reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house
 of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation
 of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of Eng-
 land. The princess, in order to avoid extremities, was
 obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with
 the states-general, but also to play off one faction against
 another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation.
 As far back as the month of June, she presented a memo-
 rial to the states-general, reminding them, that in the be-
 ginning of the war between France and England, she
 had advised an augmentation should be made in their
 land-forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier
 towns, and cover the territories of the republic from
 invasion. She gave them to understand, that the pro-
 vinces of Gueldres and Overysse, intimidated by the
 proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to de-
 mand, that the augmentation of their land-forces should
 be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and
 requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this
 measure might immediately take place. This request,
 she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not
 but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened
 the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had
 passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put it-
 self in a condition to hinder either army from retiring
 into the territories of the republic, if it should be de-
 feated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorized
 to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would
 bring the war into the heart of their country. This re-
 presentation had no other effect than that of suspending
 the measure which each party proposed. The princess
 in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants
 declared that she beheld the present state of their trade,
 with the most anxious concern; that its want of pro-
 tection was not her fault; but that of the towns of
 Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and

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the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness: That there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas, innumerable reasonable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the princess, in an assembly of the states-general, requested their high mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them, that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiation begun with Great Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance, she inferred it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

In consequence of this interposition, the states-general, that same day, sent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the princess regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as

well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: That the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points, so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: They proposed, that, by a reciprocal indulgence, one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the landforces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country, to moderate the heat and precipitation of those who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions: They were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea: The ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful, as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas and made prize of all their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

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*Domestic occurrences—New treaty with Prussia—
Parliamentary transactions—Death of the princess
of Orange, and Elisabeth Caroline.—Naval trans-
actions—Deplorable state of the Dolphin sloop—Ha-
vre-de-Grace bombarded by admiral Rodney—De
la Chie defeated by admiral Boscawen, and Conflans
by admiral Hawke—Insurrection at Dublin—
Scotland alarmed by Thurot.*

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Affairs in
Great Bri-
tain.

WHILE the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which, in the beginning of the year had been carried on with unusual violence, the levy of so many new corps of foldiers, and the endeavours used in the forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the work-men should be employed in widening and repairing London Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the king's

pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel. Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

In the month of June, Florence Hensley, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried in the court of king's bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial, it appeared that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry; to which, in consideration of a paltry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an enquiry touching the source of this information, and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother a physician in London. The suspicion naturally arising

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from this circumstance being imparted to the ministry of England, Hensley was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ships, the Alcide and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them, that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochefort, and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial, he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: But, whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the throne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial in the court of king's bench, he was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: So that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensley, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil ; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions : Witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed ; when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly, on the first of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented : Thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expence of the wedding entertain-

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ment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution.

Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: That the jewel reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance: That, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: That, whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation, they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry

and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily dissevered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's fields, under the name of the Magdalane-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surrey side of Westminster bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

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Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberalities of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly room, built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expence of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for the promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of

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manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimmon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnishing it with a collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo*.

* Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late duke of Marlborough,

On the 23d day of November both houses of parliament met at Westminster, when his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the lord-keeper harangued them to this effect. He told

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we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the abovementioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address:

"MY LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know, then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenour of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life: That I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy.

"FELTON.

"You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horse-back and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person expected to be addressed, but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate. The man replied, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to

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them, his majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his parliament, that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them

me." But he still answered in the negative, and the duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms :

" My Lord,

" You receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny post. Exert not your curiosity too early ; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite.

" I am, &c. F."

The duke, determined, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed, and, after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-park enter the Abbey, with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosted him, asked him if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him ? He replied, " No, my lord, I have not." " Sure you have," said the duke, but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the aisle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them, and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect :

" My Lord,

" I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday ; I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature, but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to ; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers : You will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These, and the former terms complied with, insure your safety : My revenge, in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure ; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, tho' they are not in my scheme."

The expression, " You will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey ; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter :

any events that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms: That, in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave,

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“ May it please your Grace,

“ I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor, in Abingdon Buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety. His father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair.

“ Your sincere friend,

“ ANONYMOUS.

“ He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-house.”

In about a week after this intimation was received, the duke sent a person to the coffee-house, to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his Grace next Thursday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the duke recognised him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and in the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate? and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The duke observing that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said “ It is very odd, my father was then out of town.” An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew. He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his hand writing; nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-park and in Westminster Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he saw the duke in Hyde-park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: That he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: That his being afterwards in Westminster Abbey was the effect of mere accident: That Mr. James Greenwood his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much solicitation: That he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of general Hargrave: That, as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the duke's speaking to him in Hyde-park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted; and that, from his passing them several times, concluding he wanted to speak with Mr.

his majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace*: That it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: That the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies: A truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however in-

Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the duke in the Park and the Abbey: That his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: That he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money: That his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and indeed could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risk of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour by alarming the duke, exciting the curiosity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closeted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secrecy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising, that the death of the duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain.

* In the month of August, the king, in quality of elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

jurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majesty's good brother, the king of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: That the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majesty's fleet flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king, in his wisdom thought it necessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by and defend his majesty, vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the house of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: That the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burthens of his people: That the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the king took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: That this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period and inelegancy of expression: He will wonder that, in particularising the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, on the river

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Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations : But he will be still more surpris'd to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea, and in America, had deriv'd the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the more extraordinary, as the British ministry, in their answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expressly affirm'd, that " none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea.—That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea." It is very remarkable, that the British ministry should declare, that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operations by sea and in America : and almost in the same breath accuse the French king of having fomented that war. Let us suppose, that France had no war to maintain in Europe ; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have oppos'd the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America ? Her navy was reduced to such a condition that it durst not quit her harbours ; her merchant ships were all taken, her mariners confin'd in England, and the sea was cover'd with British cruizers : In these circumstances, what expedients could she have contriv'd for sending supplies and reinforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great Britain in any other part of the world ?—None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship-wrecked on a desolate island. But, granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from sending a great number of troops to Canada ; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world ? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expence

incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the empire, exceeded three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice, which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

The conduct of the administration was so agreeable to both houses of parliament, that, in their address to the throne, they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity*. It was probably in consequence of this assurance that a new treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the 7th of December, importing, That as the burthensome war in which the king of Prussia is engaged, lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the king of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his

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* That the charge of disaffection to the king's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents, against all those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely false, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great Britain, all opposition ceased in both houses of parliament. The addresses of thanks to his majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate servants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible, that the operations of Great Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclinations of the sovereign.

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Britannic majesty hath, at the same time, signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and, in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties have nominated and authorised their ministers to concert and settle the following articles :—All formal treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the 16th day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and the convention of the 11th of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, are confirmed by the present convention of the 11th of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The king of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorised by the king of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rix-dollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the present war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the 1st subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burthens, and the complaisance of the commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded ; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy : Every other article was left to the interpretation of his Prussian majesty.

The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the house of commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the 23d day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thousand, and five battalions on the Irish establishment, in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea-service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land-forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings and two pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings and nine pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds eleven shillings and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine shillings and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich-hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds. They allotted for one year's expence incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds, nineteen shillings and ten pence, over and above sixty

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thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling-hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year, they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence: For maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen shillings and five pence. To replace sums taken from the sinking fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen shillings and ten pence half-penny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expence of the militia, they voted ninety thousand pounds: For extraordinary expences relating to the land forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by parliament, the sum of four hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five pounds ten shillings and five pence three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the king's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds two shillings and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North America, for the expences they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the public,

They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements; and the same sum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his majesty; for indemnifying the inn-holders and victuallers of Hampshire, for the expences they had incurred in quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings and six pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require. The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings and five pence.

The commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on the 22d day of May, when Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a message from the king, couched in these terms: "His majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this house will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require." This message being read, a motion was made, and agreed to *nem. con.* that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans or exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill, enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and

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purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of Willam and Mary, by which the bank was established.

The bills relating solely to the supply being discussed and expedited, the house proceeded, as usual, to enact other laws for the advantage of the community, Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alledging, that since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour, had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws; and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole house resolved, that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the 24th day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; subject nevertheless to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should therefore be made by any act of that session, or by his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, during the recess of parliament: That the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour, should be continued to the 24th day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those of Bristol and Sarum; while on the other hand, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the 24th day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling, while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses, and utensils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from molasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the said restraint would cease at the expiration of the limited time, or at least when the necessity

which occasioned that restraint should be removed : C H A P.
That it was with great concern they observed a bill X.
would be brought in for protracting the said prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was considerably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers, dependants upon them, must sustain, in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the house to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under such restrictions as should be judged necessary ; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and incumbrances, as to the house should seem reasonable and expedient. This petition, though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet with great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table ; and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and buiscuit, to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants ; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing, that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be consumed within that county : That, in the last harvest, there was a great and plentiful crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavourable weather, been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets, for home consumption : That large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated : That the petitioners being informed the house had ordered a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they had offered their corn for sale at divers ports and markets of the said county ; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn with which that



market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it, or make it into malt for exportation : They, therefore, prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments, because of the proviso, by which his majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition, with respect to the exportation of corn, during the recess of parliament : But the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expence, by private solicitation and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to recommend their cause to the favour of the community. They urged, that malt-spirits, when used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were, in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom, absolutely necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues, and other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate : That if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the malt-spirits could be afforded : Thus the increased consumption of French spirits would drain the nation of ready money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the king's revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials : That all of them would probably take the same resolution, should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease, should it be continued at a time when all sorts of grain abounded in such plenty : That the very waste of materials by disuse, over and above the lying out of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor : Thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely ; especially, as the expence of establishing a large distillery was so great, that no man would choose to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience, that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that, from the excessive

use of malt-spirits, no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffic, no more than against any other conveniency of life : That the excessive use of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great Britain, there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage, but a coarse kind of barley, called Big, which, though neither fit for brewing or for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford : That there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unseasonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could sell his damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt-spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffic no assortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are so fond, that they will not traffic with any merchants who has not a considerable quantity, not only for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers : That the merchants of Great Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expence from Holland : That the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it possible for the traders to sell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt-spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitched poison, which had actually debauched the minds, and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree : That, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the consequences of drinking gene-

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va ; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious : A circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper, among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well regulated commonwealth. Their assertion with respect to the coarse kind of barley, called Big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inasmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread : And with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage ; for the distillers are very sensible that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter to prove, that the distillation of malt-spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North America. Certain it is, that in these branches of traffic, the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and molasses. After all, it must be owned, that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a deminution of the revenue in this article : A consideration which, at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people ; nor will this consideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect, that the less the malt-spirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

In the mean time, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace, and of the grand juries assembled at the general quarter sessions of the peace held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the house of commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, representing, that the

weather proving unfavourable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that, unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the land owners: They, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with such further relief, as to the house should seem just and reasonable. In consequence of this petition, the house resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act, prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed, under proper regulations with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments: At length, it was sent with a new title to the lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

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While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause, extending this permission to all sorts of salted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the custom-house had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act on every hundred weight of salted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expence to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the nett weight of the provision liable to the said duties—for these reasons it was enacted, That

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from and after the 24th day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and four pence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and three pence for every hundred weight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neats tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity.

Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future; and, with this view, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the 29th year of his late majesty's reign, intituled, "an act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the house, alledging, that the inhabitants of those islands, which lie in the British channel, within sight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French shore, and being disguised like fishing-boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions: That these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burthen, they declared that that such a law, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin such as had invested their fortunes in small privateers; and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expose Great Britain to infinite prejudice from the small armed vessels of France, which the enemy in that case would pour abroad over the whole channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that such privateers as belonged to the is-

lands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill; or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their council, and be indulged with such relief as the house should judge expedient. This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal assent, and contained these regulations: That, after the 1st day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burthen of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the admiralty, or persons authorised by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving such bail of security as should be prescribed: That the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his majesty in council, whose determination should be final: That, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: That persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burthen and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: These particulars to be inserted in the commission, and every commander to produce such commission to the custom-house officer who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart: That if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that with respect to contraband merchandise, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at her liberty; and that no

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person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandise before condemnation: That no judge, or other person belonging to any court of admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: That owners of vessels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the public: That a court of oyer and terminer, and jail delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, should be held twice a-year in the Old Bailey, at London, or in such other place within England as the board of admiralty should appoint: That the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security; but, should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandise to be entered, landed, and sold at public auction, and the produce be deposited at the bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine must be an important object to a nation whose wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce; but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found still incomplete, and in want of further assistance from the legislature. His majesty having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, recommended to the house the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last

day of the last year to the 25th day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the king for this service. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution, and another to enforce the execution, and laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniences by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent ; but they presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become very well disposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country had always exerted themselves in its favour ; and it was now likewise espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the administration to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable to execute the intention of the parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the king resides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble or first clause in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made some progress in establishing the militia, without completing the same, and that in certain other counties little progress had been made therein ; his majesty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity ; others gave or offered commissions to such people as

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threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity, from engaging in the service. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration *.

A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the house, touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which, the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by

* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the house related to a law-transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the sheriffs, and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raising and collecting these fines within the respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of the sheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not distrain while the lands were in the possession of the donee. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the king, importing, that his majesty, as far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the house might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The commons, in a committee of the whole house, having taken into consideration the merits of the petition, formed several resolutions; upon which a bill was framed for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatic, clerk of the king's silver-office, alledging, that should the bill pass, it would deprive the said Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on searches made for post-fines by the under-sheriffs of the several counties; therefore praying, that such provision might be made for the said lunatic, as to the house should seem just and reasonable. This, and divers other petitions respecting the bill, being discussed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying estates: A subject obscure in itself, founded on a seeming subterfuge of law, scarce reconcilable with the dictates of common sense, and consequently improper for the pen of an historian.

alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the most remarkable were these: That were more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weekly sum, not exceeding one shilling and six-pence per week, as the court at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: That if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot easily be conceived. A man, who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount: Yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve in goal, or undergo perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? Wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors, those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forelorn, because they have ge-

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nerally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are injured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence, riot, and uproar. These are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served, and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence. He is incapable of exercising any mechanic art, which might afford a happy, though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly cast his eyes around: He sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe; he hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs internal anguish, horror, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting

the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interest of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses at might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the public: But the promoters of it being aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like success attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-subjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be brought in, than the house proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom; and several witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a resolution that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both houses without opposition; though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the peers: A miscarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the sentiments of his majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil list revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the case of the present bill, by the king's message to the house of commons, signifying his majesty's consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

In the month of February, the commons presented an address to his majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the house an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his majesty. These accounts being perused, and the king having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in, to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both houses, received the royal assent without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was or-

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dained that fortifications should be erected at Peterchurch-point, Westlanyon-point, and Newland-point as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session.

What next attracted the attention of the house, was an affair of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February, complaint was made to the house, that, since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been set on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French clothes into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the house, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the house by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffic was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

The next object that employed the attention of the commons, was to explain and amend a law made in the last session, for granting to his majesty several rates and duties upon officers and pensions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing, that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpose; that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests, or of the Exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively: That the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment

within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or assess all offices and employments, the perquisites whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising: That the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly: That in all future assessments of the land-tax, the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign: That the word *perquisite* should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a commissioner possessed of any office or employments might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four last clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were, the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been easily collected and received by the commissioners of the land tax already appointed, and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses. In the former of these, the commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from assessing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

In the beginning of March, petitions were offered to the house, by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying, that the toy trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon

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slight ornaments of gold and silver : That by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out annual licence of forty shillings, they, the petitioners, were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages : That not only the first seller, but every person thro' whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said license ; they therefore requested, that the house would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with reasonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having resolved that this imposition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the house agreed to the resolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of " An act to amend " the act made in the last session, for repealing the duty " granted by an act of the sixth year of the reign of his " late majesty on silver plate, and for granting a duty " on licenses to be taken out by all persons dealing in " gold and silver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without license. Instead of the duty before payable upon licenses, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers and refiners. This affair being discussed, the house took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchased for the better securing of his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth ; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the house, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law, without opposition *.

* The next bill which was brought into the house related to summons men issued by the commissioners of the excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by the laws of excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which obtained the royal assent in due course, enacted, that a summons left at the house, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, workhouse, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence of such person, directed to him by his right or assumed name ; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds, as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of excise, when summoned in this manner.

In the month of April^e a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambrics ; and while it was under deliberation, several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they, and many thousands of other traders, would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their council on the merits of this remonstrance, and some amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal assent, and became a law to the following effect : It enacted, that no cambrics, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambrics, should be imported after the 1st day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes covered with sackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole : That cambrics and French lawns should be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouse, and delivered out under like security and restrictions as prohibited East-India merchandise ; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy : That all cambrics and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the 1st of August, in the king's warehouses the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid ; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation : That cambrics and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for, and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncus-tomed goods are ; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds, over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act : That if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner : Finally, That the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambric or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace.—The last successful bill which this session produced, was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the com-

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mittee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the house, that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, jailor, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in parliament; but both these proposals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament. But, on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the judges, which seems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the judges should continue in force *quam diu se bene gesserint*; that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an address of both houses of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature, that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehavior, or unless both houses of parliament should concur in desiring his removal: But the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the king by whom it was

granted ; that therefore the commissions of the judges C H A P.
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must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of the new commissions should be *quam diu se bene gesserint*. Thus the office of a judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a considerable reinforcement.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms which had been rejected in the last session ; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism : But, to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can never be reduced into practice without a concomitency of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the consideration of the house, petitions were presented against it by the merchants of Bristol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lancaster, representing, That, by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter ; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading ships and vessels, as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into the navy, and to expences occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole house, and the bill was improved with many amendments : Nay, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of rider ; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed ; warm debates ensued ; they were adjourned ; and resumed ; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in such a

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striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in parliament during the 26th, the 28th, and 30th years of the present reign, for the preservation of the public roads, being attended with some inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole house, which resolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts travelling on the turnpike roads should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of parliament, the three acts before mentioned, for the preservation of the public highways : But some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the landowners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance, the further consideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel ; so that the attempt miscarried.

Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity or challenged the redress of the legislature than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February, a petition was offered to the commons in behalf of the bankrupts, who represented, That having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief : That by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts had been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors : That the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that

such powers would be tenderly exercised, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature: That is the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-sufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their distressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the interposition of parliament, they implored the compassion of the house, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts; and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was seemingly paid to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors imprisoned in different jails within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

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Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of captain George Walker, a prisoner in the jail of the king's bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resolved to enquire into the particulars of his misfortunes. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee, and the speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice; but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the enquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalized himself against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a jail, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he

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might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy, and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the house, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessities of life.

It would engage us in a long digressive discussion, were we to enquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the jails should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditors. By the original and common law, of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgment against either the body or the lands of the defendant; even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward I. allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconveniences. The debtor who possessed an estate in lands was tempted to

secret his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effect could not be sold for the benefit of his creditor till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Ed-III. which gave rise to the writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the severity of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of Chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of Charles II. and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or enquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a

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punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or sinister design of a merciless creditor ; a creditor, by whose fraud, perhaps, the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in jail, lest, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in Chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account ! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only ; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtain their certificates. As British subjects, they are surely entitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the sixth year of George the I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate ; but the chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded ; yet, by a latter act, the chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors ; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the the greatest part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents ; whether proper distinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt, who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy ; and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law ?

The house of commons seems to have been determined on another measure which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole

house ; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the house, an account of the annual expence of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years ; and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the house was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no work-houses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very burthensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community : That the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers, a misapplication of the public money, and a great encouragement to idleness and intemperance : That the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactures as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the public : That settling the poor in work-houses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons, as, by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour ; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry : That the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by

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the annual parochial officers: That erecting work-houses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provisions for the poor in the said houses, would not only be a means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expence of the public: That controversies, and law-suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and in general, an useless expence to the public, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements, by each of the contending parishes, than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: That should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants might be repealed: That while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the public. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants under a certain yearly rent from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in, to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting any aid to his majesty by a land tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the lower house; but among the lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with œconomy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their main-

tenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy and ruin; that would restrict within due bounds the number of public-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency, as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice to such a base consideration, the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: But nothing can be more fallacious, than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excise upon liquors, will always be greatly overbalanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.



Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the enquiry, touching the regulation of weights and measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box which contained a troy pound weight, locked up by order of the house, was again produced by the clerk, in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions*. In the mean time, it was ordered,

* As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, That the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures: That the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thousand seven hundred and sixty: That the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter: The rood one thousand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty: That, according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house on the 2d day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint, thirty-five and one quarter; the peck, five hundred and sixty-four; and the bushel, two thousand two hundred and fifty-six: That the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz The half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one-penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for fixing or adjusting weights for the future: That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast-iron and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal: That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof: That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the the chancellor of the said exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the exchequer and chief baron for the time being: That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of fixing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain

that all the weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the clerk of the house, to be locked up, and brought forth again occasionally.

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The house of commons, among other articles of domestic œconomy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The house afterwards resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accompts. On the 3d

proportions of the standards to be used for the future: That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the house, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the house, and of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report when they same are adjusted, should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the exchequer, on the application of the said persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects: That models or patterns of the said standard yard and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office, for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his majesty's subjects: That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to show the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein: That the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weight, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-adjusted, as occasion should require, at the said office: That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act justices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter, and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeably to the aforesaid standards: That models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

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day of May their resolutions were reported, to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is attended with many evil consequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution, but never presented; therefore the enquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the public, it does not appear, that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant-murder rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, be not improperly stiled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

In the month of March, leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further enquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and silver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of insolvency.

Over and above these proceedings in this session of parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention several messages which were sent by the king to the house of commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the sup-

ply. On the 26th day of April, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the house two messages, signed by his majesty, one in favour of his subjects in North America, and the other in behalf of the East-India Company: The former recommending to their consideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his just rights and possessions, desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expences incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit. In the latter, he desired the house would empower him to assist the East India Company in defraying the expence of a military force in the East Indies, to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject we have already explained. The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great Britain we shall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the house of commons were voted and given to admiral Boscawen and major-general Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North America; and the same compliment was paid to admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruize in the Mediterranean.

The session was closed on the 2d day of June with a speech to both houses, from the commissioners appointed by his majesty for that purpose. In this harangue the parliament was given to understand, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension: That the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a parliament; and that his expectations were fully answered: That they had considered the war in all its parts, and notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations as ought to convince the adversaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease

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and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told, that by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: That, as France was making considerable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: That all his measures had been directed to assert the honour of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the protestant religion, and public liberty; he therefore trusted, that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the desired effect; a consideration which the king had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and consistent with his majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithstanding the present burthens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion. He assured them that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

The people of England, provoked on one hand by intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties,

howsoever great, and expence, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the parliament bestowed the nation's money ; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general under the additional burdens which had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature ; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces ; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated, for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance, by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching : At the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantage to the subject of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was prepared and augmented, and in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the 3d day of July ; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and, if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great Britain, were commanded to make particu-

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lar search of straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods more gentle and effectual were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raised, on his majesty's promise, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common council resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should engage in his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the king, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service.

Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the history of England. In the beginning of this year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the princess dowager of Orange and Nassau, governate of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present stadtholder. She

was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues, pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation *. In her will she appointed the king her father, and the princess dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the states-general and the states of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the captain general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the states-general, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and, in the evening, the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadtholder, and the princess Caroline, his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was communicated to the king her father in a pathetic letter, by the states general, who condoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young stadtholder, and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another

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* Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the prince of Nassau-Weilburgh; the other was a letter to the states-general, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young stadtholder.—These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

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ther disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the princess Elizabeth Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederick prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

Certain privateers continuing their excesses at sea, and rising neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and, upon conviction, sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great Britain. A great number of causes were tried, relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels, with their cargoes, were condemned, after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the states general.

The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halfey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretched leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so while they were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the crimi-

Several
shocking
murders
in England.

nal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors of such aggravated cruelty. —Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized, on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: The sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.—The widow of a timber merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the street with her own arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions, she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution, she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotions, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation

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without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematic events which elude the force of all evidence, and serve to confound the pride of human reason.—A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenic; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and presented to the other three children, who underwent the same violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison created a suspicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole scene of villainy stood disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape.—The uncommon spirit of assassination which raged at this period seemed to communicate itself even to foreigners who breathed English air. Five French prisoners, confined on board the king's ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow prisoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape. Exasperated at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring bolt, and scourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied: Then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast till the chest was broke, and he expired. They afterwards severed the body into small pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the sea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access; but one of the other prisoners gave information of

the murder, in consequence of which they were secured, C H A P.
brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death. X.
—Nor were the instances of cruel assassination which
prevailed at this juncture confined to Great Britain.
At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious
massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon
the master and crew of an English vessel, among
whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty
were in different watches, a circumstance that favoured
the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted.
When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the
watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited
till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them
all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery,
he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his
associate: Then they suddenly attacked the master of the
vessel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they
likewise used in murdering the man that stood at the helm;
a third was likewise dispatched, and no Englishman
remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented
his father's death with incessant tears and cries for three
days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed,
because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour.
This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues
of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between
the capes Ortugal and Finisterre, by the captain of a
French privateer called *La Favourite*, who seeing the deck
stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship
destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had
been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder,
and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched
at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the
English consul; but the prize, with the two villains on
board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where they were
brought to condign punishment.

We shall close this register of blood with the account
of a murder remarkable in all its circumstances, for
which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York,
in the course of this year. This man, who exercised
the profession of a schoolmaster at Knareborough, had,
as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and
forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman, in robbing
and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously
persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable
effects from different persons in the neighbourhood on false
pretences, that he might retire with the

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booty. He had accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell upon the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached, than Houseman, as it were by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school, in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and straitened circumstances, by dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European history. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide;

and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the CHAP. veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered; yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knaresborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared among many other instances of homicide; a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws, and the regulations of civil society, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

The prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happiness of Great Britain. The city of London presented an address to the king on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his majesty, that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leisure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars to the opposite shore, about mid-way between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were ap-

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at Black-
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pointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common-council, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by installments, not exceeding thirty-thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for securing the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel, from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In the month of November, the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, consumed a good number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: Some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

Method of
finding the
longitude.

The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced as this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of public utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great *desideratum* in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public, was Mr. Irwin,

a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person sitting in it on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the veſſel. This gentleman was favoured with the aſſiſtance and protection of commodore lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that he granted a certificate, ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence of this, Mr. Irwin is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable reward from the board of admiralty.

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The people of England, happy in their ſituation, felt none of the ſtorms of war and deſolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a ſurpriſing augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the ſecurity of peace, and all the pleaſures of taſte and affluence. The univerſity of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the earl of Weſtmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated ſeat of learning with great magnificence, and was inſtalled amidſt the Encænias, which were celebrated with ſuch clafſical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman feſtival of the Auguſtan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a ſplendid train of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers. The proceſſions were contrived with taſte, and conducted with decorum. The inſtallation was performed with the moſt ſtriking ſolemnity. The congratulatory verſes, and public ſpeeches, breathed the ſpirit of Old Rome; and the ceremony was cloſed by Dr. King, that venerable ſage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praiſe of the new chancellor, with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demotheus.

We ſhall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year*, that are detached from the proſecution of the war

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* In the ſpring of this year, the liberal arts ſuſtained a lamentable loſs, in the death of George Frederick Handel, the moſt celebrated maſter in muſic which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he met with the moſt favourable reception, and reſided above half a century, univerſally admired for his ſtupendous genius in the ſublime parts of muſical compoſition.

One would be apt to imagine, that there was ſomething in the conſtitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age, inasmuch as, in the compaſs of a few months, the following per

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Miserable
fate of the
sloop Dol-
phin.

with the detail of an event equally surprising and deplorable :—A sloop called the *Dolphin*, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board. At length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musket; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each *per diem*, cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board by one captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to the other. The circumstance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a suspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the master and crew could not contrive some sort of tackle

sons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland: William Barnes, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Brodie, died there, at the age of one hundred and nine. Catharine Mackenzie died in Ross-shire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair deceased at Monymusk, in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Banff-shire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and survived his marriage thirty years.

to catch fish, with which the sea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

Previous to the more capital operations in war, we shall particularize the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of war, during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by captain Parker, commander of his majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and sixty men. About the same period, captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men, and two-and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant ships, loaded on the French king's account for Martinique, with provision, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands. Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February, captain Hood, of his majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate, called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a signal to the admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musket-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadside, which was immediately returned. The engagement, thus begun, was maintained with great vigour on both sides, for the space of four hours, at the expiration of which, the Bellona struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was

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the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the *Vestal*. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and she was otherwise so damaged, that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The *Bellona* had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the *Florissant*, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage. Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the *Æolus* frigate, accompanied by the *Isis*, made prize of a French ship, the *Mignonne*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of our frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhee.

In the month of March, the English frigates, the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruize, fell in with the *Danae*, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men which was engaged by captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the *Danae* with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender. She did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain, and the gallant captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life yet rendered him incapable of future service; a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was atchieved about the same juncture by captain Barrington, commander of the ship *Achilles*, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the count de St. Florentin, bound from Cape François on the island of Hispaniola, to Ro-

chefort, under the command of *Sieur de Montay*, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so damaged that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain *Barrington* obtained the victory at the expence of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small privateers from *Dunkirk* were also taken, one called the *marquis de Bareil*, by the *Brilliant*, which carried her into *Kinsale* in *Ireland*; the other called the *Carillonneur* which struck to the *Grace* cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship *Rochester*, commanded by captain *Duff*, who sent her into the *Downs*.

About the latter end of *March*, captain *Samuel Falkner*, in the ship *Windfor*, of sixty guns, cruizing to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to *Lisbon*. She proved to be the *Duc de Chartres*, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the *French East-India company*, was loaded with gunpowder and naval stores, and bound for *Pondicherry*. Two privateers, called *La Chasseur* and *Le Conquerant*, the one from *Dunkirk*, and the other from *Cherbourg*, were taken and carried into *Plymouth* by captain *Hughs*, of his majesty's frigate the *Tamer*. A third, called the *Despatch* from *Morlaix*, was brought into *Penzance* by the *Diligence* sloop under the command of captain *Eastwood*. A fourth called the *Basque*, from *Bayonne*, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of captain *Parker* of the *Brilliant*, who conveyed her into *Plymouth*. Captain *Antrobus* of the *Surprise*, took the *Vieux*, a privateer of *Bordeaux*; and a fifth, from *Dunkirk*, struck to captain *Knight* of the *Liverpool*, off *Yarmouth*. In the month of *May*, a *French* frigate called the *Arethusa*, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands,

under the command of the marquis de Vaudrieul, submitted to two British frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the beginning of June, an armed ship belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by captain Angel of the *Stag*; and a privateer of force, called the *Countess de la Serre*, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by captain Moore, of his majesty's ship the *Adventure*.

Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which vice-admiral Cotes commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the *Velour*, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the *Favourite* sloop of war, under the command of captain Edwards, who after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Christopher's, in the West-Indies, captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ship the *Crescent*, attacked two French frigates, the *Amethyste* and *Berkeley*; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the *Crescent's* rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue; but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre. Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above two hundred sail of British ships valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe, was in possession of the English, and commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

In the beginning of October, the *Hercules* ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of captain Porter, cruising in the chops of the Channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the *Florissant*, of the same force with the *Hercules*. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chase, did not seem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a slanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little

time, the *Hercules* having lost her top-mast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

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Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by single ships since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation: Nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcases, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by an humane enemy, unless they have committed some particular act of provocation.

Havre-de-Grace bombarded, by Admiral Rodney.

The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who

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M. de la
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feat d by
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as we have already observed, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt favoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits-mouth unobserved, his fleet consisting of twelve large ships, and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate to cruize off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point, with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the 17th day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: At day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forebore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron, commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his head-moſt ships could

close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawse, poured into her a furious broadside: Thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and topsail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English, another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeste, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the count de Carne, who, having received one broadside from the America struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley, of the Warspight, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day attacked the Temeraire of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage, vice admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the Redoubtable of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned

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by her men and officers; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the *Ocean*, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded; but the most severe circumstance of this disaster, was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the admiral dispatched to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended as it were in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of the year, had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the king to both houses of parliament were delivered by the earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that his majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great Britain: That though persuaded, by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shown for the safety and preservation of

his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence ; he, therefore, acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require. These messages were no sooner read, than each house separately resolved to present an address, thanking his majesty for having communicated this intelligence ; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever : That, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would cheerfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken ; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner rear-admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruizes. We have also recorded the expedition and victory of admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design ; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the duc d'Aguillon, at Van-

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Account of
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nes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports, to be used in this expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer, called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruizers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Sea, as far as the island of Orkneys. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment, in every respect, entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the East and West Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon, and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the summer blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruizers; so that the whole coast of France,

from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruize along the French coast, from port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by sir Edward Hawke, sir Charles Hardy, and rear-admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather and on the 9th day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea in order to pursue them; and, in the mean time, the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land forces were put in

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motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex: All the ships of war in the different harbours, even those that had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: But, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made a signal for seeing a fleet, on the 20th day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest to the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: But sir Edward Hawke, steered with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in a great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risks in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number,

and no superiority in men or metal; consequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated, that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal, the brave veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me alongside the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: The Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours, in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time, day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped, under

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cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but, at day-break, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the *Essex* to slip cable and pursue her; and in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called *Lefour*, where the *Resolution*, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: But all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the *Portland*, *Chatham*, and *Vengeance* to destroy the *Soleil Royal*, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the *Hero* to ashes on the *Lefour*, where she had been also stranded; and the *Juste*, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the *Loire*. The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between *Point Penvas* and the mouth of the river *Vilaine* made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the *Vilaine*, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most peri-

lous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for, it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel*. By this time, indeed, Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, and directed his course to the North Sea, whither he was followed by commodore Boys, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprising adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded. As for sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruizing off the coast of Bretagne for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the seven French ships might not escape and join M. Conflans, who made shift to reach Rochefort with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service became such a considerable object in the eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during a whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the service of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the parliament. The people of France were so dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the disaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Versailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortune under a palliating detail published in the gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the count de St. Florentin, secretary of the marine. In this partial misrepresentation their admiral

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* During this war, the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates; two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas, the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line, and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

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in the Irish
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was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the *Soleil Royal* had obliged the *Royal George* to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river *Vilaine* had received very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of *Bompart's* squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English admiral. These tumid assertions, so void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain glory, so much as to a political design of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Great Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some public disorder. In the latter end of October, the two houses of parliament, assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared, that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her *Toulon* squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: That in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men under the command of the duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at *Vannes*, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them, his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made, at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand, he had received his sovereign's commands to

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use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of this kingdom: He, therefore, in the strongest manner recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished. Immediately after this message was communicated, the house of commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord-lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shown for the safety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the house would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distractions among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the lord-lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants and principal traders of Dublin, engaged, in an association to support public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: A resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

Howsoever the court of Versailles might have flattered itself, that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and Roman Catholics of the city

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of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the lord lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions: That they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever: That they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in the defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This cordial address, which was transmitted to the earl of Shannon, and by him presented to the duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at such a critical juncture.

Insurrection
in Dublin.

Although no traces of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present lord-lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious na-

tion expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs; certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower sort of people, that an union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case, this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houses, whom they met in the streets to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentlemau in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day, addressees to the lord-lieutenant were agreed to by both houses of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered, and brought to condign punishment.

When the ministry of England received the first advice that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land-troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence, and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued, that no officer should absent himself from his duty on any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partisan, is an account of the alarm

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which the sailing of his puny armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner stopped, had commodore Boyes been victualled for a longer cruize; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and, before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruize, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburg in Sweden.

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Unsuccessful expedition against Martinique—Guadaloupe, Dominica, and Maregalante reduced—Campaign on the North American continent—Death of general Wolfe—Quebec taken.

HAVING finished the detail of the actions achieved in the European seas by the naval force of Great Britain within the compass of the present year, we shall now proceed to record the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadaloupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and besieging Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe constituted part of this design, inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts, to the general of the French islands, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march and defend the island from the English, of whose design they were apprised. They represented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their sole dependence: That they could expect no succour from

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Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war : That the traders vested with the privilege of trafficking among them had abused the intention of the general, and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported ; of consequence, the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could conceive: That the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision : The commodities of the planters lay upon their hands ; and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger : A circumstance that excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences : As to slaves half-starved, all kinds of bondage were equal ; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking in anarchy and confusion, a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed : That the best provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common necessities of life ; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses : That there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their land ; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their cattle to support the lives of those who remained alive ; so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy. They desired, therefore, that the general would suppress the permissions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the colonists unmolested and unrestrained. They observed, that the citadel of Port-Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended ; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the reduction of the whole island : They, therefore, advised that this fort should be properly provided with every thing necessary for its safety and defence ; and that magazines of provision, as well as ammunition, should be established in different quarters of the island. This remonstrance plainly proves, that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and justifies the plan adopted by the ministry of Great Britain. The regular troops of Martinique consisted of about twenty independent companies greatly defective in point of

number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters distressed and dissatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretches negro slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

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Such was the state of Martinique, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we shall now relate. On the 12th day of November, in the preceding year, Captain Hughes sailed from St. Helen's, with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war; this whole force being under the command of major-general Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, the lieutenant-colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carlisle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, appointed by his majesty to command the united squadrons, amounting to ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches. Five days were employed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hospital ship, in reviews, re-embarkations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed five thousand eight hundred men, being joined by two hundred Highlanders, belonging to the second battallion of the regiment commanded by lord John Murray in North America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland, under convoy of the ship Ludlowcastle, the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: But by this time, the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhoeas, the scurvy, and the small-pox, which last disease had unhappily broke out amongst the transports. Next morning the squadron discovered the island of Martinique, which was the place of its destination. The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port-

British armament against the island.

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Royal, a regular fort, garrisoned by four companies that did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef constituted their whole store of provision; and they were destituted of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage: They had but a small stock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the English were some paltry entrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Casdenavires, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted, On the 15th day of the month, the British Squadron entered the great bay of Port-Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the isle de Ranieres, a little island about half way up the bay. At their first appearance, the *Florissant*, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by captain Tyrrel, in the *Buckingham*, then lying under the guns of Fort-Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to an anchor in the carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the *Vestal*, under favour of the night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe; where she was taken by captain Hood, as we have already related. Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort-Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced, and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed; here, however, they met with no resistance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and centinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the power which they found in the magazine: Nevertheless, the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were set to reduce the other battery at Casdenavires, which consisted only of four guns; and these were soon rendered unserviceable. The French troops, reinforced with militia which had been

detached from the citadel to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort-Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port-Royal, leaving the beach open ; so that the English troops were landed without opposition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort-Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms ; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the citadel, shifted their station, and stood farther up the bay. By ten next day, the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon, the British forces advanced in order towards the hill that over-looked the town and citadel of Port-Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see ; for the French militia were entirely covered by the woods and bushes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueson, through the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by the general of Martinique, who had resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel : But, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate destruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueson, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia, which was reinforced by the garrisons of Fort-Negro and Casdenavires, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissant : But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of discipline, dispirited by the pusillanimity of their governor, and in a great measure disconcerted by the general consternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well conducted attack by regular forces. About two o'clock general Hopson thought proper to desist from his attempt. He gave the commodore to understand, that he could not maintain his ground, unless the squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port-Royal, at a savannah, where the boats must have been greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy, or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land.

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troop with-
drawn.

Both these expedients * being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts, and reaimbarked in the evening, without any considerable molestation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Turtueson had cost them several men, including two officers, killed or wounded in the attack; and in revenge for this loss, they burned the sugar-canes, and desolated the country in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the testimony of their own senses, when they saw themselves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confusion; when the principal individuals among them had resigned all thought of further resistance. and were actually assembled at the public hall in Port-Royal, to send deputies to the English general, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.

The majority of the British officers, who constituted a council of war held for this purpose †, having given their opinion, that it might be for his majesty's service to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the island, and entered the bay on the 19th. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ships might be disabled in the attack, so as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any material service; as the troops might be reduced in their numbers, so as to be incapable of future attacks; and as the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies, Mr. Moore proposed that the armament should immediately proceed to that island, and the general agreed to the proposal. The reasons produced on this occasion are, we apprehended, such as may be urged against every operation of war. Certain it is, no conquest can be attempted, either by sea or land, without exposing the ships and troops to a possibility of being disabled and

* The commodore offered to land the cannon on the other side of Point Negro, at a place equally near the road from the English army to Port-Royal, and even cause them to be drawn up by the seamen, without giving the troops the least trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopson afterwards declared, that he did not understand Mr. Moore's message in the sense which it was meant to imply.

† The commodore did not attend at this council; it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they should make another landing to the southward of the carenage. In this case, the pilot declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.

diminished ; and the same possibility militated as strongly against an attempt upon Guadaloupe, as it could possibly discourage the attack of St. Pierre. Besides, Martinique was an object of greater importance † than Guadaloupe ; as being the principal place possessed by the French in those seas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expressly limited by the instructions received from the ministry. St. Pierre was a place of considerable commerce ; and at that very juncture above forty sail of merchant ships lay at anchor in the bay. The town was defended by a citadel regularly fortified, but at that time poorly garrisoned ; and so situated as to be accessible to the fire of the whole squadron ; for the shore was bold, and the water sufficient to float any ship of the line. Before the resolution of proceeding to Guadaloupe was taken, the commodore had ordered the bay to be sounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly, captain Jekyll, who commanded that ship, stood in, and anchored close to the shore, attacked it with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire of three other batteries, from which she received considerable damage both in her hull and rigging ; and was in great danger of running a-ground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

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Attempt
on Guada-
loupe.

The armament having abandoned the design on Martinique, directed their course to Guadaloupe, another of the Caribbee islands, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth ; divided ; into two parts by a small channel, which the inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western division is known by the name of Basseterre ; and here the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel, and other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grandterre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in the other division, and is defended by Fort-Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the district of Gosier. The gut, or canal, that separates the two parts is distinguished by the appellation of the Salt-River, having a road or bay at each end ; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the small Cul de Sac Guadaloupe is incumbered with high

† Only as being the seat of government ; for Guadaloupe makes a much greater quantity of sugar, and equipped a much greater number of privateers with the assistance of the Dutch of St. Eustatia, situated in its neighbourhood.

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mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger; but here are also beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse, and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands, called All-Saints and Desseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island. The British Squadron having arrived at Basseterre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the 23d day of January. At nine, the *Lion*, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves a-breast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity, while the commodore, who had shifted his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle, and give his orders with the greater deliberation. This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, howsoever consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any other occasion, except in one instance, at Carthagena, where sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when she was ordered to stand in, and cannonade the fort of Boca-Chica.

In this present attack, all the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawney, and Shuldham; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon, the fire of the citadel was exhausted. The *Burford* and *Berwick* were driven out to sea; so that captain Shuldham, in the *Panther*, was unsustained; and two batteries played upon the *Rippon*, captain Jekyll, who, by two in the afternoon, silenced the guns of one, called the *Morne-rouge*; but at the same time

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could not prevent his ship from running a ground. The enemy perceiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect : Nevertheless, captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropped on every side, until all his grape-shot and wadding was expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces ; to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire ; which, however, was soon extinguished. In the mean time, the captain threw out a signal of distress ; to which no regard was paid, till captain Lislie, of the Bristol, coming from sea, and observing his situation, ran in between the Rippon and the battery ; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favour of captain Jekyll whose ship remained a-ground, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, till midnight, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, he joined the rest of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses ; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gun-powder blew up with the most terrible explosion ; and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration.

Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach : Several ships turned out, and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English Squadron. At five, the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men ; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel ; but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had

The troops
and,Basseterre
taken.

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Governor
of Canada—
leaps re-
fuses to ca-
pitulate.

spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matroses; and, in the mean time, the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, and began to throw up entrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution, indeed, he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basseterre to this pass was so very steep, and the way so broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very soon recovered their spirits and recollection, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent, with offers of terms, to the governor, their chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but ill agreed*. Indeed, from the beginning, his deportment had been such as gave a very unfavourable impression of his character. When the British squadron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order

* The letter was to this effect:

To their excellencies Messrs. Hopson and More, general officers of his Britannic majesty at Basseterre.

"Gentlemen,

"I Have received the letter which your excellencies have done me the honour to write, of the twenty-fifth. You make me proposals which could arise from nothing but the facility with which you have got possession of the little town and citadel of Basseterre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe they could not be received. You have strength sufficient to subdue the exteriors of the island; but, with respect to the interior, the match between us is equal. As to the consequences that may attend my refusal, I am persuaded they will be no other than such as are prescribed by the laws of war. Should we be disappointed in this particular, we have a master powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain. I am, with respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

NADAU D'ETREILS."

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to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger, to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to surmount, and when he might have defended the entrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing; he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains that were deemed inaccessible.

But, howsoever deficient the governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harrassed the scouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and sugar plantations, which last the English burned about their ears in resentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of bush-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharme, having armed her slaves, headed them in person, made several bold attempts upon an advanced post, occupied by major Melville, and threw up entrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length, the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the entrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations; but the lady, who commanded in person, during the action, escaped with some difficulty, some of the enemy were killed, and a good number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's headquarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up entrenchments. From these a considerable detach-

Skirmishes
with the
islanders.

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It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehension of cruel usage from the English, who are undoubtedly the most generous and humane enemies under the sun, not only prevailed among the common French soldiery throughout this whole war, but even infected officers of distinction who ought to have been exempted from these prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and a more liberal turn of thinking.

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ment advanced on the 6th day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a short, though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire, with some loss. Without all doubt, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe pursued the most sensible plan that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement with regular troops, in which they could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and navy were invaded with fevers and other diseases, epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadaloupe more and more impracticable, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grandeterre, which as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort-Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grandeterre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the 13th day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders, they drove the enemy from their entrenchments sword in hand, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

Fort Louis
reduced.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved on general Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and dispatch. As one step towards this conquest, the commodore ordered two ships of war to cruize off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions, since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to strike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but, in

The troops
re-embarked
at Basseterre.

a few days, the batteries in and about Basseterre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army re-embarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel, the command of which was bestowed on colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear, than they descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which, however, they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but, as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle. In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished, by the explosion of a powder magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident, encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The general, being made acquainted with the fate of colonel Debrisay, conferred the government of the fort upon major Melville, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

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Fate of Colonel Debrisay.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence, that Mons. de Bompard had arrived at Martinique, with a squadron consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battallion of Swiss, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the island, he called in his cruizers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to the windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadaloupe, whence he could always sail to oppose any designs which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port-Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that step, M. Bompard must either have given him battle, or retired into the carenage, behind the citadel; in which last case, the English commander might have anchored between Pigeon Island and Fort-Negro, and thus blocked him

The squadron sails to Dominique.



up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers, who roved along the coasts of the islands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above fourscore merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. These continual depredations, committed under the nose of the English commodore, irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom are said to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character.

General Barrington, being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadaloupe by detachments, and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grandeterre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men; who, under the command of colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. Francois, and destroyed some batteries of the enemy, from whom he sustained very little opposition. While he was thus employed, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Goufier, which, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished the battery and entrenchment raised for its defence. This service being happily performed, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated with some loss sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort-Louis. The general, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprizing at one time the three towns of Petitbourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, situated on the Basseterre side of the little Cul de Sac, and committed the execution of it to the colonels Crump and Clavering: But the night appointed for the service proved exceeding dark and tempestuous, and the negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himself so entangled with mangrove trees, and the mud so impassably deep, that he was obliged to re-embark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design. This project having miscarried, the general detached the

same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnouville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majesty's ship the Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong entrenchment thrown up behind the river Lecorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt, and entrenchments well pallisaded, mounted with cannon and defended by a numerous militia: Besides, the narrow roads through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the entrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first entrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders, drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: But they still maintained their ground within the entrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: Notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among these some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded.

The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Petitbourg, harassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had fortified with strong entrenchments, protected by a battery of four

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The English storm the difficult post of Lecorne.

They take Petitbourg and St. Mary's.

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cannon, erected on a rising ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he should advance in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having passed the river, pursued them to Petitbourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the 15th day of April, captain Steel destroyed a battery at Guoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a haste discharge of their artillery. At the same time colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions, which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering having left a small garrison at Petitbourg, began his march on the 20th day of the month towards St. Mary's where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up entrenchments, and raised barricadoes: But they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached colonel Barlow, with a body of troops, to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their entrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the English troops endeavoured to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musketry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's.

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Next day they entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to one planter surrendered at discretion. Here colonel Clavering was met by Messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petitbourg, where they were presented to general Barrington, who considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of the forces daily diminishing, the difficulty of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of their present panic, and settled terms of capitulation without delay. The sanity of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived at their camp, with information, that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, and about two thousand buccaneers, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bompert, who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he re-embarked the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique.

The island
surrender-
ed

Thus we see that the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than is made in all the English plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general : For, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadaloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts and returned to their respective habitations. The town of Basseterre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erect occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good-humour so peculiar to the French nation ; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

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Los Santos,
and Mari-
galante sub-
mit.

Immediately after the capitulation of Guadaloupe, he summoned the islands called Santos and Deseada to surrender; and they, together with Petit-terre, submitted on the same terms which he had granted to the great island; but his proposal was rejected by the inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grandeterre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat, and fertile, but poorly watered, and ill fortified. The general, resolving to reduce it by force, embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb-vestels from prince Rupert's Bay; and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison.

Before this period, commodore Moore having received intelligence that M. de Bompard had sailed from Martinique, with design to land a reinforcement on Guadaloupe, and that his squadron was seen at sea seven leagues to windward of Marigalante, he sailed from prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward; but bringing to about noon, he fell to leeward, and lost as much in the day as he had gained in the night. After having been beaten about for five days to very little purpose, he received notice from one of his cruizers, that the French admiral had returned to Martinique; upon which information he retired quietly to his former station in the bay of Dominique, the people of which were so insolent as to affirm, in derision, that the English squadron sailed on one side of the island and the French upon the other, that they might be sure of not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny.

General Barrington, having happily finished the conquest of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the commodore, that he intended to send back part of the troops, with the transports, to England, about the beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basseterre road, where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who at this time retired to the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadaloupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, to make the commodore acquainted with this circumstance: But, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived, with information, that

Bompart had quitted Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The commodore immediately dispatched the Ludlow-castle with this intelligence to admiral Coates, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica.

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General Barrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair the fortifications which he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of drafts, to North America, under convoy: He garrisoned the principal strengths of the island, and left the chief command to colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as brigadier-general, colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basseterre; and the command at Grandeterre was conferred on colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and, with the transports, under convoy of captain Hughes, and a small squadron, set sail for Great Britain, while commodore Moore, with his larger fleet, directed his course to Antigua.

Gen. Bar-
rington re-
turns to
England.

While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadaloupe, North America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation, which, in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this continent, previous to this campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, settled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, accompanied by sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New-Jersey, a great number of planters, and citi-

Conferences
and treaty
with the In-
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zens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies, the Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number, including their women and children amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned some individuals of their nation, killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minisinks, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and, on that account, were provoked to hostilities: But their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace; and in the character of ambassador from all the Ten Nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by one of the Delawares, over whom, as their descendants, they exercise a kind of parental authority; and on this occasion they made no scruple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business, therefore, of the English governors at this congress was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews, the Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages entirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty. Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves, nevertheless, in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of reason and justice; and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, which invest it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of hard shell, either in single strings, or sewed in broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every answer

made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum. The conferences were continued from the 8th to the 26th day of October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gun-locks, ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, clothes, blankets, gartering, forges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened; they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

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This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Great Britain, auspiciously paved the way for those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North America against one object, the ministry proposed to divide the forces, and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada completed in one campaign. That the success might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada: That general Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in the siege of Quebec: That brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced by a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under

Plan of the
armament
on that
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the command of sir William Johnson, should invest the French fort erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commands all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overaws the whole country of the Six Nations, who are cajoled into a tame acquiescence in its being built on their territory, it secured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a passage for inroads into the colonies of Great Britain. It was proposed, that the British forces, having reduced Niagara, might be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Laurence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Besides these larger armaments, colonel Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the lake Ontario.

Animad-
versions on
that plan.

How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Laurence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebec was remarkably strong from situation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebec, with a body of ten thousand men consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, reinforced by a considerable number of armed Indians; and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada. The garrison of Niagara consisted of above six hundred men; the march to it was tedious and embarrassed; and monsieur de Levi scoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to general Amherst's share of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu which defended the pass to the river St. Laurence. Even had these obstacles been removed, it was hardly possible that he and Mr. Wolfe should arrive at Quebec in the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebec, would run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering

army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction, in the midst of an enemy's country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had these disasters happened, and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme, the troops at Niagara would in all probability have fallen an easy sacrifice, unless they had been so fortunate as to receive intelligence, time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New-York, and joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St Laurence to besiege Quebec. Even in that case, the whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, with any probability of success, to invest the place, and cope with the covering army. Nevertheless, had the enterprise succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired farther into the country: Then the route would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of St. Laurence blocked up, and the dependant forts must have surrendered at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expence, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been besieged in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miscarried in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadaloupe, seemed to interpose still more astonishing in their favour at Quebec, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present we must attend the operations of general Amherst, whose separate army was in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who possessed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

The summer was already far advanced before general Amherst could pass Lake George with his forces, although they met with no opposition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where, in the preced-

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The French
abandon
Ticondero-
ga and
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Point.

ing year, the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege; having, moreover, orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the least risk of being made prisoners of war; they in the night of July the 27th abandoned the post, after having in some measure dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown-Point, a fort situated on the verge of Lake-Champlain. General Amherst, having taken possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New-York, and secured to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. The acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, colonel Roger Townsend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-shot, and fell near the same spot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and they men were employed in preparing batteaux and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of these detachments he received intelligence, on the 1st day of August, that the enemy had retired from Crown-Point. He immediately detached a body of rangers before him, to take possession of the place, embarked with the rest of the army, and on the 4th day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further security of the British dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for preventing the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested.

General
Amherst
embarks on
the Lake
Champlain.

Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the other end of the Lake-Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's; that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thou-

sand five hundred effective men, provided with numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain in the the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this intimation, general Amherst, who had for some time employed captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all possible expedition, a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned by the 11th day of October, the general embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the mean time, captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailed down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run a-ground by their own crews, who escaped: One, however, was repaired and brought away by captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and was obliged to desist.

Returning to the same bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the 21st day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortrefs at Crown-Point, together with three small outposts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy. During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints

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in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners, that came from the French general, Montcalm, who gave him to understand, that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city: That he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with threats: That the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec.

Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec squadron, his communication continued open with his forces which undertook the siege of Niagara; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga.

Reinforcement
of Niagara.

General Prideaux, with his body of his troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under sir William Johnson, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without being exposed to the least inconvenience on his march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the 20th day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster, than he detached brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved to sir William Johnson, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the success that could have been desired. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque-Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of Monsieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnson having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening, he ordered the light infantry and piquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress, and these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by lieutenant colonel Maffey; and another regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morn-

ing, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with great impetuosity; but they met with such a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that, in little more than half an hour, their whole army was routed; their general, with all his officers, taken; and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles with considerable slaughter. This battle, which happened on the 24th day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, sir William Johnson sent major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of the seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and exhort him to surrender before more blood was shed; while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The commandant, having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and, in a few hours, the capitulation was ratified. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New-York. They laid down their arms when they embarked; but were permitted to keep their baggage; and, by a proper escorte, protected from the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was the second complete victory obtained on the continent of North America, in the course of the same war, by sir William Johnson, who without the help of a military education, succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity. What remarkably characterises these battles, is the circumstance of his having in both taken the commander of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general may be distinguished by the singular success of this gentleman, and the celebrated M. Clive, two self-taught generals; who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated, that un instructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline

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and experience. Sir William Johnson was not more serviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara to the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-Point, were exploits much more easily achieved than the conquest of Quebec, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular adventures and surprising events; in the course of which a noble spirit of enterprize was displayed, and the scenes of war were exhibited in all the variety of desolation. It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape-Breton, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on several occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the 21st day of April, they were in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence rear-admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Laurence as far as the Isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebec. He accordingly took two store-ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail of ships, loaded with provisions, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Meanwhile, admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without delay. The operations at land were entrusted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of major-general Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: The other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications and station

but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of brigadier Townshend was singular: He had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain of some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurements of domestic felicity, he waved these considerations: He burst from all entanglements; proffered his services to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebec sailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebec, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans, than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, importing, that the king his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament, in order to humble his pride, and was determined to humble the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared, it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war: On the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel: He offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference

General Wolfe lands on the isle of Orleans, and publishes a manifesto.

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between the two crowns. He observed that the English were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe, and, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace, amidst the horrors of war; and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope, that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties* of Indians

* The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, is encouraged both by French and English, the savages perform in this manner:—The hapless victim being disabled or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife, provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer-side of an instrument called a tomahawk: But sometimes they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove effectual, so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture.—The Indian strings the scalp he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation to which whose banners he has enlisted.

who skulked among the woods, and falling upon the English stragglers by surprise, butchered them with the most inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against such wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, representing, that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war, observed among civilized nations, dishonourable to the service of France, and disgraceful to human nature : He, therefore, desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoner, whatever cruelties should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge ; so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops though superior in number to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was skilfully fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions formed of the best of the inhabitants, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply entrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash enterprise, seemingly urged in diametrical opposition to the dictates of common sense. Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking ; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river ; he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherst ; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which the prospect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Understanding

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Takes possession of Point Levi.

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that there was a body of the enemy posted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them Brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night, and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Besides, the Point of Levy was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery immediately was erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this expedient, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were compleated; but this detachment fell into disorder, firing upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery being finished without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish.

The fleet
endangered
by a storm.

In the mean time, the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire ships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ship, and towed them fast a-ground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaux, which likewise consumed, without producing any effect.

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The General encamps by the falls of the river Montmorenci.

The works for the security of the hospital, and the stores on the island of Orleans, being finished the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy, and next morning a company of rangers posted in a wood to cover some workmen were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated: However, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. The reasons that induced general Wolfe to choose this situation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this, and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the secretary of state. He observed that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted: That there was a ford below the falls, passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his entrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite bank, which was naturally steep, and covered with woods, the enemy had entrenched in such a manner, as to render it almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including some officers.

Some shrewd objections might be started to the general's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorenci at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and entrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valour, driven them from these strong posts, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he must also have passed under the same of disadvantage, before he could begin his operations against the city of Quebec. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebec might have been reinforced by the wreck of their army; and he could not, with any probability of success,

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have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience and the apparent conduct of the French general. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that general Wolfe would not determine to risque an attack, until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Laurence, in hopes of finding some place more favourable for a descent.

On the 18th day of July, the admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports, with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec without having sustained any damage. The general being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground, and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble, to which place he was informed a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, and some prisoners were brought away, but no magazine was discovered.

The general thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt close to the water's edge, seemingly situated without gun-shot of the entrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement; on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Pre-

parations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were drawn out, in order to pass the ford when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: A numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's entrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run a-ground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this entrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued, that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran a-ground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the general was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated, and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and began the attack, supported by the corps of brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to their assistance. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among

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them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed, and even lost their lives in the honourable discharge of their duty*. The ge-

* The following anecdote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honour of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation:—Captain Ochterlony and ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of brigadier-general Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty; the first was a North-Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer; in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of next day; but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said, that a scratch received in a private rencounter had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hands, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musquet-ball, an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil; but he still continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed further. About the same time Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigotted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation; and in a little time remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners; for the captain seeing a French soldier with two Indians approach, started up, and addressing them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down, but the blow missing his head, took place upon the shoulder. At the same instant, the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, "O Peyton! the villian has shot me. Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping knife. The captain, having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the

neral, seeing their endeavours abortive, ordered them to retreat, and form behind Monckton's brigade, which

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spot. The other, thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him, and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand, nevertheless he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right, drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued; but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast.—Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breastwork, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, "captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket, and notwithstanding his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting: Feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows: while the French, from their breast-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was captain Macdonald, of colonel Fraser's battalion; who understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the fields drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped carried him off in triumph. Poor captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where in a few days he died of his wounds.—And after the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared, that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, general Townshend, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but the Canadians and savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.

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was, by this time, landed and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confusion, leaving a considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who massacred the living and scalped the dead, even in sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; so that in case of a second repulse, the retreat of brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain; Mr. Wolfe, therefore, thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two vessels which were a-ground to be set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attack in this part consisted of the following particulars: All the artillery could be used with good effect: All the troops could act at once; and in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was secure and open, at least for a certain time of the tide. These, however, seemed to be overbalanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence: The beach was covered with deep mud, slippery, and broken into holes and gullies: The hill was steep, and in some places impracticable: The enemy were numerous, and poured in a very severe fire from their entrenchments. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable, because the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate shelter; finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

Brigadier,
Murray's
expedition.

Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers, were lost, the general detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloth-

ing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his prisoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and general Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps commanded at the Isle aux Noix by M. Burtlemaque.

The disaster at the falls of Montmorenci a deep impression on the mind of general Wolfe whose spirit was too great to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people, rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success; dejected even to dispondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine even to childish hyperbole in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous to a degree of persecution against those who have miscarried in their endeavours, without any investigation of merit, without any consideration of circumstances. A keen sense of these vexations peculiarities conspiring with the shame of disappointment, an eager desire of retrieving the laurel that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the falls of Montmorenci, and the despair of finding such an occasion, excited an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh; he was often heard to complain, and even in the transports of his chagrin declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery; by which, for some time, he was totally disabled.

Before he recovered any degree of strength, he desired the general officers to consult together for the public utility. And it was their opinion, that the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river, with a view to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them, if possible, to an engagement. This measure, however, was not adopted,

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until the general and admiral had reconnoitered the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault, and concluded from their own observations, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town; but they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage.

When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: They afterwards passed up the river in transports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore: And the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed by the three brigadiers for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly, with a steep ascent, from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprise that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with centinels; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so dif-

difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme; had the embarkation been disordered, in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelviness of the north shore, near which they were obliged to row; had one sentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken, the heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive; confusion would have necessarily ensued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who, nevertheless, adopted the plan without hesitation; and even executed it in person; though at that time labouring under a severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him almost to an extremity of weakness.

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The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy, and amuse M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of that squadron; but the English admiral was directed to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders he punctually fulfilled. On the 12th day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed; and they began to fall down with the tide to the intended place of disembarkation; rowing close to the north shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended*. As the

* How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident may be conceived from the following particulars:—In the twilight two French

troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by brigadier Townshend. In the mean time, colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a captain's guard, which defended a small entrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted, without further molestation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner understood that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a

deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north shore. They told him, that the garrison of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by M. de Bougainville. These deserters standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout, and make a noise, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of General Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops: when the general, perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted centries along shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vit*, which is their challenging word, *la France*: Nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the centinel demanded *a quel regiment?* to what regiment? the captain replied, *de la Reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy: and saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner, the other centries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, "*Pourquoi est que vous ne parlez plus haut?*" Why don't you speak with an audible voice?" To this interrogation which implied doubt, the captain answered, with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, "*Tai toi, nous serons entendus!*" Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered." Thus cautioned, the centry retired without further altercation. The midshipman who piloted the first boat, passing by the landing place in the dark, the same captain, who knew it, from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken, and commanded the rowers to put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

When general Wolfe landed, and saw the difficulty of ascending the precipice, he said to the same officer, in a familiar strain, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up; but you must do your endeavour." The narrow path that slanted up the hill from the landing-place, the enemy had broken up and rendered impassable by cross ditches, besides the entrenchment at the top: In every other part the hill was so steep and dangerous, that the soldiers were obliged to pull themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on both sides of the path.

manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

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1759.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray: To the rear of the left, colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry just returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as to show his intention was to flank the left of the English, brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: He was afterwards reinforced by two battalions, and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight sub-divisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: Their centre consisted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left, one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was posted: The bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line, who piqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun, which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing place. This was very well served, and galled their column severely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with such deliberation and spirit, as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the

Battle of
Quebec.

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The French
defeated,
and general
Wolfe kil-
led.

front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero*, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way; for, at this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy: Then the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English, the action was not so violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front: So that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and to over-awe a body of savages, posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army. General Wolfe being slain, and, at the same time, Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles's regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved on brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre, and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarce performed, when M. de Bou-

* When the fatal ball took place, general Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!"—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the lieutenant replied, "The French."—"What! (said he) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired.

gainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham, but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired, at their approach, among woods and swamps, where general Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was possessed of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French general, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers, and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point-au-Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained entrenched, until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivières and Montreal.

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1759.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty men killed, including nine officers; and of about five hundred men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: There was a sublimity in his genius, which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his fa-

Eulogium
of general
Wolfe.

B O O K

III

1759.

Surrender
of Quebec.

culties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action; had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates, Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and on the 17th day of the month sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by general Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in securing the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the 17th, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered by the general and admiral, were accepted, and signed at eight next morning. They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; and the season was become wet, stormy, and cold; threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident, and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British general, was the information he afterwards received from deserters, importing, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the 18th, that very morning on which it was surrendered; for the place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works, on the other side of the river St. Charles.

The capitulation was no sooner ratified than the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side, and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline: At the same time,

captain Palliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same precautions. Next day, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board transports, which proceeded to France with the first opportunity. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the English government. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loss to France, in all probability overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their councils; otherwise we cannot account for the same surrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained; for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet sustained the least damage: The besiegers were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture: A fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open: The season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

Immediately after the action at the fall of Montmorenci, General Wolfe had dispatched an officer to England, with a detail of that disaster, written with such elegance and accuracy, as would not have disgraced the pen of a Cæsar. Though the public acquiesced in his conduct, they were exceedingly mortified at his miscarriage; and this mortification was the greater, as he seemed to despair of being able to strike any other stroke of importance for the accomplishment of their hope, which had aspired at the absolute conquest of Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were not yet subsided, when colonel Hale arrived in the ship Alcide, with an account of the victory and surrender of Quebec; which was immediately communicated to the people in an extraordinary gazette. The joy which this excited among the populace rose in proportion to the despondence which the former had produced; all was rapture and riot; all was triumph and exultation, mingled with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe, which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole. — The king expressed his satisfaction, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gre-

Rejoicings
in England.

BOOK

III.



1759.

tified him and colonel Hale with considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his majesty. The parliament was no sooner assembled, than the secretary of state, in the house of commons, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himself, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendant merit of the deceased general, the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who assisted in the conquest of Quebec. In consequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was succeeded, the house unanimously resolved to present an address, desiring his majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-Abbey to the memory of major-General Wolfe; at the same time, they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the public.

The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burdens which they bore, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions, to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets, for the soldiers who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarce sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the hor-

rors of famine; but still they remained destitute of other conveniencies, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: They considered them as their fellow creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf; and, in a few weeks, they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration.

C H A P.

XI.

1759.

The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New-York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

*Affairs in the East Indies——Madras besieged——
 Success of the British arms——French defeated——
 Masulipatam and Surat taken——British defeated
 at Wandewash——French fleet defeated——Hostili-
 ties with the Dutch——Wandewash taken——Ge-
 neral Lally defeated——Arcot reduced.*

B O O K
IV.

1759.
 Affairs in
 the East In-
 dies.

WHILE the arms of Great Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her interest was not suffered to languish in other parts of the world. This was the season of ambition and activity, in which every separate armament, every distinct corps, and every individual officer, seemed to exert themselves with the most eager appetite for glory. The East Indies, which in the course of the preceding year, had been the theatre of operations carried on with various success, exhibited nothing now but a succession of trophies to the English commanders. The Indian transactions of the last year we interrupted at that period when the French general, Lally, was employed in making preparations for the siege of Madras. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without opposition; and in the beginning of December, he advanced towards Madras. On the 12th, he marched over Choultry plain, in three divisions, cannonaded by the English artillery with considerable effect, and took post at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garrison of Madras, retired to the island, in order to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the island-

bridge, and, at the same time, ordered the posts to be occupied in the Black-town or suburbs of Madras. In the morning of the 14th, the enemy marching with their whole force to attack this place, the English detachments retreated into the garrison, and within the hour a grand sally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who signalized himself remarkably on this occasion. He attacked the regiment of Lorraine with great impetuosity; and, in all probability, would have cut them off, had they not been sustained by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After a very warm dispute, in which many officers, and a good number of men, were killed on each side, colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether satisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garrison of Madras was not very numerous, nothing further was attempted on their side without the works. In the mean time, the enemy used all their diligence in erecting batteries against the fort and town, which being opened on the 6th day of January, they maintained a continued discharge of shot and shells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breast of this glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the last day of the month; but for five days successively they were obliged to close their embrasures, by the superior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it entirely; nevertheless, they still maintained a severe fire from the first grand battery, which was placed at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from the defences. This artillery was so well served, as to disable twenty-six pieces of cannon, three mortars, and effect an inconsiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more success, had they battered in breach from the beginning; but M. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demolished the houses: He was, however, happily disappointed in his expectation by the wise and resolute precautions of governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct and bravery of the colonels Laurence and Draper, seconded by the valour and activity of major Brereton, and the spirit of the inferior officers. The artillery of the garrison was so well managed, that from the 5th day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreased from twenty-three to six pieces of cannon; nevertheless, they advanced their sap along the sea-side, so as to embrace entirely the north-east angle of the co-

vered way, from whence their musquetry drove the besieged. They likewise endeavoured to open a passage into the ditch by a mine, but sprung it so injudiciously, that they could make no advantage of it. As it lay exposed to the fire of several cannon. While these operations were carried on before the town, major Caillaud, with a body of sepoys, some of the country horse, and a few Europeans, drawn from the English garrisons of Trichenapally and Chingalaput, hovered at the distance of a few miles, blocking up the roads in such a manner, that the enemy were obliged, four several times, to send large detachments against him, in order to open the communication: Thus the progress of the siege was in a great measure retarded. On the 16th day of February, in the evening, the Queenborough ship of war, commanded by captain Kempenfeldt, and the company's ship the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of six hundred men belonging to colonel Draper's regiment, and part of them was immediately disembarked. From the beginning of the siege, the enemy discovered a backwardness in the service very unsuitable to their national character. They were ill supplied by their commissaries and contractors: They were discouraged by the obstinate defence of the garrison, and all their hope of success vanished at the arrival of this reinforcement. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege that very night, abandoning forty pieces of cannon; and having destroyed the powder-mills at Ogmore, retreated to the territory of Arcot*.

The siege
raised.

* The chagrin and mortification of Lally are strongly marked in the following intercepted letter to M. de Lignot, dated from the camp before Madras.

“ A good blow might be struck here; there is a ship in the road, of twenty guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The Expedition is just arrived, but M. Gordin is not a man to attack her; for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas, and on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto-Novo, she took fright; and after larding the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough even to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

“ If I was the judge of the point of honour of the company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

“ The Indule, or the Harlem or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her twelve guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugeudre and Tremillier are said to be good men, and were they employed only to transport two hundred wounded men that we have here, their service would be of importance.

Mr. Lally having weakened his forces that were at Masulipatam, under the conduct of the Marquis de Conflans, in order to strengthen the army with which he undertook the siege of Madras, the rajah of Visanapore drove the French garrison from Vizagapatam, and hoisted English colours in the place. The marquis having put his troops in motion to revenge this insult, the rajah solicited succour from colonel Clive at Calcutta; and with the consent of the council, a body of troops was sent, under the command of colonel Forde, to his assistance. They consisted of five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, and sixteen hundred seapoys, with about fifteen pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and three mortars. The forces of Conflans were much more considerable. On the 20th day of October, colonel Forde arrived at Vizagapatam, and made an agreement with the rajah, who promised to pay the expense of the expedition as

“ We remain still in the same position : The breach made these fifteen days, all the time within fifteen toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

“ I reckon we shall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much patience.

“ Of one thousand five hundred seapoys which attended our army, I reckon near eight hundred are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

“ I am taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black-town, and to blow up the powder-mills.

“ You will never imagine that fifty French deserters, and one hundred Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of two thousand men of the king's and company's troops, which are still here existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them; and you will be still more surprised, if I tell you, that, were it not for the two combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or, to speak more properly, which were unskillfully made, we should not have lost fifty men, from the commencement of the siege to this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Poleegers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling directly or indirectly with any thing whatever that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that from Heaven should not.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ Signed,

LALLY.

“ P. S. I think it necessary to apprise you, that as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcot or Sagrasse. Send, then, your orders, or come yourselves to command it; or I shall quit it upon my arrival there.”

B O O K

IV.

1759.

The French
defeated.

soon as he should be put in possession of Rajamundry, a large town and fort possessed by the French. It was stipulated that he should have all the inland country belonging to the Indian powers in the French interest, and at present in arms; and that the English company should retain all the conquered sea-coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam. On the first of November, colonel Forde proceeded on his march, and on the 3d joined the rajah's army, consisting of between three and four thousand men. On the 3d of December they came in sight of the enemy, near the village of Tallapool: But the French declining battle, the colonel determined to draw them from their advantageous situation, or march round, and get between them and Rajamundry. On the 7th, before day-break, he began his march, leaving the rajah's forces on their ground; but the enemy beginning to cannonade the Indian forces, he, at the request of the rajah, returned and took them under his protection. Then they marched together to the village of Golapool, and halted a small plain about three miles from their encampment. About nine he formed the line of battle. About ten the enemy were drawn up, and began the cannonade. The firing on both sides having continued about forty minutes, the enemy's line advanced to the charge with great resolution, and were so warmly received, that after several spirited efforts, at eleven they gave way, and retreated in disorder towards Rajamundry. During this conflict, the rajah's forces stood as idle spectators; nor could their horse be prevailed upon to pursue the fugitives. This victory cost the English forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, including two captains and three lieutenants. The French lost above three times the number, together with their whole camp, baggage, thirty-two pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. A great number of black forces fell on both sides. The marquis de Conflans did not remain at Rajamundry, but proceeded to Masulipatam; while captain Knox, with a detachment from the English army, took possession of the fort of Rajamundry, which is the barrier and key to the country of Vizagapatam. This was delivered to the rajah on his paying the expence of the expedition; and Captain Knox being detached with a battalion of seapoys, took possession of the French factory at Narisipore. This was also the fate of a small fort at Coucate, which surrendered to captain Maclean, after having made an obstinate defence.

In the mean time, however, the French army of ob-
 servation made shift to retake Rajamundry, where
 they found a considerable quantity of money, baggage,
 and effects belonging to English officers.

C H A P.
 I.
 1759.

Colonel Forde advancing to the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, the marquis de Conflans with his forces retired within the place, which on the 7th day of March was invested. By the seventh of April the ammunition of the besiegers being almost expended, col. Forde determined to give the assault, as two breaches were already made, and made his disposition accordingly. The attack was begun in the night, and the assailants arrived at the ditch before they were discovered. But here they underwent a terrible discharge of grape shot and musquetry; notwithstanding which they entered the breaches, and drove the enemy from bastion to bastion. At length, the marquis de Conflans sent an officer to demand quarter for the garrison, which was granted as soon as he ordered his men to cease firing. Thus with about three hundred and forty European soldiers a handful of seamen, and seven hundred of seapoys, colonel Forde took by assault the strong town of Masulipatam, garrisoned by five hundred and twenty-two Europeans, two thousand and thirty-nine caffrees, to passies, and seapoys; and here he found above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Salabatzing, the subah of Decan, perceiving the success of the English here as well as at Madras being sick of his French alliance and in dread of his brother Nizam Allee, who had set up a separate interest, and taken the field against him, made advances to the company, with which he forthwith concluded a treaty to following effect.—“The whole of the circar of Masulipatam shall be given to the English company. Salabatzing will not suffer the French to have a settlement in this country, nor keep them in his service nor give them any assistance. The English, on their part, will not assist, nor give protection to the subah’s enemies.” In a few days after Masulapatom was reduced, two ships arrived in the road, with a reinforcement of four hundred men to the marquis de Conflans; but understanding the fate of the place, made the best of their way to Ganjam.

Masulipa-
 tam taken

The merchants residing at Surat finding themselves exposed to numberless dangers, and every species of oppression, by the Sidee who commanded the castle, on one hand, by the governor of the city on the other, and

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Surat

taken.

by the Mahrattas, who had a claim to a certain share of the revenue, made application to the English presidency at Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for taking possession of the castle and Tanka, and settle the government of the city upon Pharafs Cawn, who had been naib or deputy-governor under Meah Atchund, and regulated the police to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. The presidency embraced the proposal : Admiral Pococke spared two of his ships for this service. Eight hundred and fifty men, artillery and infantry, with fifteen hundred seapoys, under the command of captain Richard Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, were embarked on board the company's armed vessels commanded by captain Watson, who sailed on the 9th day of February. On the 15th they were landed on a place called Dentiloury, about nine miles from Surat ; and here they were encamped for refreshment. In two days he advanced against the French garden, in which a considerable number of the Sidee's men were posted, and drove them from thence, after a very obstinate dispute. Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach ; but this method appearing tedious, he called a council of war, composed of the land and sea officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. The company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were ranged in a line of battle opposite to the Bundar which was the strongest fortification that the enemy possessed ; and under the fire of these, the troops being landed, took the Bundar by assault. The outward town being thus gained, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and castle with such fury, that next morning they both surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects ; and captain Maitland took possession without further dispute. Meah Atchund was continued governor of Surat, and Pharafs Cawn was appointed naib. The artillery and ammunition found in the castle were secured for the company, until the mogul's pleasure was known ; and in a little time a phirmaund, or grant arrived from Delhi, appointing the English company admiral to the mogul ; so that the ships and stores belonged to them of course, as part of the Tanka ; and they were now declared legal possessors of the castle. This conquest, which cost about two hundred men, including a few officers, was achieved with such expedi-

tion, that captain Watſon returned to Bombay by the 9th day of April. C H A P.
I.

The main body of the Engliſh forces, which had been centered at Madras, for the preſervation of that important ſettlement, took the field after the ſiege was raiſed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Conjeveram, a place of great conſequence, which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and ſecured the Britiſh poſſeſſions to the northward. M. Lally, ſenſible of the importance of the poſt, took the ſame route, in order to diſlodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he retired towards Wandewaſh, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. No other operations enſued till the month of September, when major Brereton, who commanded the Engliſh forces, being joined by major Gordon, with three hundred men of colonel Coote's battalion, reſolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the 14th day of the month he began his march from Conjeveram for Wandewaſh, at the head of four hundred Europeans, ſeven thouſand ſeapoys, ſeventy European, and three hundred black horſe, with fourteen pieces of artillery. In his march he inveſted and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandewaſh, where the French, to the number of one thouſand, were ſtrongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded by a rajah, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the 30th day of September, the Engliſh, at two in the morning, attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it, after a very obſtinate diſpute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. The black pioneers ran away during the attack, ſo that proper tranſverſes could not be made in the ſtreets; and, at day-break, the fort poured in upon them a prodigious diſcharge of grape-ſhot with a conſiderable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which ſerved as an entrenchment, from whence they made furious ſallies; and a body of three hundred European horſe were already in motion, to fall upon and complete their conſuſion. In this emergency, they retired in diſorder, and might have been entirely ruined, had not the body of reſerve effectually covered their retreat; yet this could not be effected without the loſs of ſeveral officers, and above three hundred men killed and wounded. After this mortifying check, they encamped a few days in ſight of the fort, and the rainy ſeaſon ſetting in, re-

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The Britiſh
deſeated at
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The French
defeated by
admiral
Pococke.

turned to Conjeveram. The fort of Wandewash was afterwards garrisoned by French and seapoys, and the other forces of the enemy were assembled by brigadier-general de Buffly at Arcot.

During these transactions by land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French admirals. On the 1st day of September, vice-admiral Pococke sailed from Madras to the southward, in quest of the enemy; and next day descried the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, standing to the northward. He forthwith threw out the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three succeeding days he used his utmost endeavours to bring them to battle, which they still declined, and at last they disappeared. He then directed his course to Pondicherry, on the supposition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the 8th day of the month perceived them standing to the southward; but he could not bring them to an engagement till the 10th, when M. d'Apché, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron did not exceed nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet consisted of eleven; but they had still a greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both squadrons fought with great impetuosity till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way; this example was soon followed by their centre, and finally the van, with the whole squadron, bore to the south-south-east, with all the canvas they could spread. The British squadron was so much damaged in their masts and rigging, that they could not pursue; so that M. d'Apché retreated at his leisure unmolested. On the 15th, admiral Pococke returned to Madras, where his squadron being repaired by the 26th, he sailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road saw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off shore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for some time continued in this situation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but instead of bearing down upon the English squadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept close to the wind, and stretched away to the southward. Admiral Pococke finding him averse to another engagement, and his own squadron being in no condition to pursue, he, with the advice of his captains, desisted,

and measured back his course to Madras. On the side of the English, above three hundred men were killed in the engagement, including captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle, captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a master, gunner, and boatswain: The captains Somerset and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded, and many of the ships considerably damaged. The loss of the enemy must have been much more considerable; because the English in battle always fire at the body of the ship; because the French squadron was crowded with men; because they gave way, and declined a second engagement; and finally, because they now made the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally, and some other officers. Thus they left the English masters of the Indian coast; a superiority still more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Cornish, with four ships of the line, who had set sail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pococke at Madras on the 18th day of October.

The French were not the only enemies with whom the English had to cope in the East-Indies. The great extension of their trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who possessed a strong fort at Chinchura, on the river of Bengal; and resolved, if possible, to engross the whole salt-petre branch of commerce. They had, without doubt, tampered with the new nabob, or subah, who lay under such obligations to the English, and probably secured his connivance. Their scheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himself with the execution of it; and, for that purpose, chose the opportunity when the British squadron had retired to the coast of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board five hundred European troops, and six hundred Malayese, under the command of colonel Ruffel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, had received information of their design, which he was resolved, at all events, to defeat. He complained to the subah, who, upon such application, could not decently refuse, an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying,

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that this armament should not proceed up the river. The colonel, at the same time, sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, intimating, that as he had received intimation of their design, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In answer to this declaration, the Dutch commodore, whose whole fleet had not yet arrived, assured the English commander that he had no intention to send any forces to Chinchura; and begged liberty to land some of his troops for refreshment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the rest of the ships were no sooner arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being disembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended to have sustained, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilson, homeward-bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him without further ceremony. The English captain seeing them run out their guns, as if really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament. The ships being properly manned, and their quarters lined with salt-petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they seemed well prepared: For three of them were mounted with thirty-six guns each; three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The duke of Dorset, commanded by captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships, slipping their cables, bore away, and a

third was driven ashore. Their commodore thus weakened, after a few broadsides, struck his flag to captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loss of one man on the side of the English, captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage, and sent the prisoners to colonel Clive, at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive no sooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, than he detached colonel Forde, with five hundred men, from Calcutta, in order to oppose, and put a stop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of Chandernagore, where he sustained the fire of a Dutch party, sent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. These being routed and dispersed, after a short action, colonel Forde in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle, on the 25th day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated. A considerable number were killed, and the greater part of those who survived the action were taken prisoners. During this contest, the nabob, at the head of a considerable army, observed a suspicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number; but fortune no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his service to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chinchura with his own army. In the mean time, proposals of accommodation being sent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation ensued, and a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the prisoners entered into the service of Great Britain; the rest embarked on board their ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and set out on their return for Batavia. After all, perhaps, the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory of Chinchura on a more respectable foot-

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ing ; and, by acquiring greater weight and consequence among the people of the country than they formerly possessed, the more easily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate, it will admit of a dispute among those who profess the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be justly debarred the privilege of sending a reinforcement to their own garrisons. Be that as it will, the ships were not restored until the factory at Chinchura had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained on this occasion.

The success of the English company was still more conspicuous on the coast of Coromandel. The governor and council of Madras having received information, that the French general Lally had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichenapally with a siege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field, and endeavour to make a diversion to the southward. He accordingly began his march at the head of seventeen hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and three thousand blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the 27th day of November, he invested the fort of Wandewash ; having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of near nine hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war ; and he found in the place forty-nine pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he undertook the siege of Carangoly, a fortress commanded by colonel O'Kennely, at the head of one hundred Europeans, and five hundred seapoys. In a few days he dismounted the greater part of their guns ; and they submitted, on condition that the Europeans should be allowed to march out with the honours of war ; but the seapoys were disarmed, and dismissed.

General Lally, alarmed at the progress of this brave vigilant, and enterprising officer, assembled all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including horse, three hundred caffres, and ten thousand black troops, or seapoys, with five-and-twenty pieces of cannon. Of these he assumed the command in person ; and on the 10th day of January began his march, in order to recover Wandewash. Colonel Coote, having received intelligence on the 12th, that he had taken possession of Conjeveram, endeavoured by a forced march to Wandewash, invested

Wandewash
taken by
colonel
Coote.

General
Lally de-
feated.

the fort without delay. The English commander passed the river Palla, in order to follow the same route; and, on the 21st day of the month, understanding that a breach was already made, resolved to give them battle without further delay. The cavalry being formed, and supported by five companies of seapoys, he advanced against the enemy's horse, which being at the same time galled by two piece of cannon, retired with precipitation. Colonel Coote, having taken possession of a tank which they had occupied, returned to the line, which was by this time formed in order of battle. Seeing the men in high spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance, and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel reconnoitered the situation of the French forces, who were very advantageously posted, and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their disposition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. About noon, their European cavalry coming up with a resolute air to charge the left of the English, colonel Coote brought up some companies of seapoys, and two pieces of cannon, to sustain the horse, which were ordered to oppose them, and these advancing on their flank, disturbed them so much, that they broke, and were driven by the English cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army. Mean while, both lines continued advancing to each other, and about one o'clock, the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental shot, the English commander took immediate advantage of their confusion. He ordered major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank. This service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely routed, and fell upon their centre, now closely engaged with the left of the English. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp, which perceiving themselves closely pursued, they precipitately abandoned, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon. In this engagement they lost about eight hundred men killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including brigadier-general de Bussy, the chevalier Go-

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The province of Arcot reduced.

deville, quarter-master-general, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants, and some other officers. On the side of the English, two hundred and sixty-two were killed or wounded, and among the former the gallant and accomplished major Brereton, whose death was a real loss to his country.

General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the Baron de Vasserot was detached towards the same place, with a thousand horse and three hundred seapoys, to ravage and lay waste the French territory. In the mean time, the indefatigable colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which, in two days, was surrendered by the chevalier de Tilly, himself and his garrison remaining prisoners of war. Such also was the fate of Fort Timmery, which being reduced, the colonel prosecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the 5th day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred seapoys, surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found two-and-twenty pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kinds of military stores. Thus the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whose courage, conduct, and activity cannot be sufficiently admired. The reader will perceive, that, rather than interrupt the thread of such an interesting narration, we have ventured to incroach upon the annals of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

C H A P. II.

State of the war in Europe—French defeated at Minden—King of Prussia totally defeated at Cunnorsdorf—Two of his generals taken with their whole armies—Bankruptcy of France—Transactions with the Dutch—Death of the king of Spain—Punishment of the Portuguese conspirators—Proceedings in parliament—Act in favour of earl Marischal Keith.

HAVING thus followed the British banners through the glorious tracts they pursued in different parts of Asia and America, we must now convert our attention to the continent of Europe, where the English arms, in the course of this year, triumphed with equal lustre and advantage, But first it may be necessary to sketch out the situations in which the belligerent powers were found at the close of winter. The vicissitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been chequered, were sufficient to convince every potentate concerned in the war, that neither side possessed such a superiority in strength or conduct as was requisite to impose terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various success; and surprising efforts of military skill had been exhibited, without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the least desire of accommodation; on the contrary, the first and most violent transports of animosity had by this time subsided into a confirmed habit of deliberate hatred, and every contending power seemed more than ever determined to protract the dispute, while the neutral states kept aloof, without expressing the least desire of interposing their mediation. Some of them were restrained by considerations of conveniency, and others waited in suspense for the death of the Spanish monarch, as an event which they

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imagined would be attended with very important consequences in the southern parts of Europe. With respect to the maintenance of the war, whatever difficulties might have arisen in settling funds to support the expence, and finding men to recruit the different armies, certain it is, all these difficulties were surmounted before the opening of the campaign. The court of Vienna, though hampered by the narrowness of finances, still found resources in the fertility of its provinces, in the number and attachment of its subjects, who, more than any other people in Europe, acquiesce in the dispositions of their sovereign; and, when pay cannot be afforded, willingly contribute free quarters for the subsistence of the army. The czarina, though she complained that the stipulated subsidies were ill paid, nevertheless persisted in pursuing those favourite aims which had for some time influenced her conduct; namely, her personal animosity to the king of Prussia, and her desire of obtaining a permanent interest in the German empire. Sweden still made a show of hostility against the Prussian monarch, but continued to slumber over the engagements she had contracted. France, exhausted in her finances, and abridged of her marine commerce, maintained a resolute countenance, supplied fresh armies for her operations in Westphalia, projected new schemes of conquest, and cajoled her allies with fair promises, when she had nothing more solid to bestow. The king of Prussia's dominions were generally drained, or in the hands of the enemy; but, to balance these disadvantages, he kept possession of Saxony, and enjoyed his annual subsidy from Great Britain, which effectually enabled him to maintain his armies on a respectable footing, and open the campaign with equal eagerness and confidence.

The Hanoverian army, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, regularly paid, and well supplied with every comfort and convenience which foresight could suggest, or money procure; yet, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken, they were cut off from some resources which the French, in the beginning of the year, opened to themselves, by a flagrant stroke of perfidy, which even the extreme necessities of a campaign can hardly excuse. On the 2d day of January, the French regiment of Nassau presenting itself before the gates of Frankfort on the Maine, a neutral Imperial

city, and demanding a passage, it was introduced, and conducted by a detachment of the garrison through the city, as far as the gate of Saxen-hausen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately disarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover from the consternation into which they were thrown by this outrageous insult, five other French regiments entered the place, and here their general, the prince de Soubise, established his head quarters. How deeply soever this violation of the laws of the empire might be resented by all honest Germans, who retained affection for the constitutions of their country, it was a step from which the French army derived a very manifest and important advantage; for it secured to them the course of the Maine and the Upper Rhine; by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every species of supply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alsace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Austrian forces and the army of the empire.

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The scheme of operations for the ensuing campaign was already formed between the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and before the armies took the field, several skirmishes were fought, and quarters surprised. In the latter end of February, the prince of Ysembourg detached major-general Urst, with four battalions and a body of horse, who, assembling at Rhotenbourg, surprised the enemy's quarters in the night between the 1st and 2d day of March, and drove them from Hirschfield, Vacha, and all the Hessian bailiwicks of which they had taken possession; but the Austrians soon returning in greater numbers, and being supported by a detachment of French troops from Franckfort, the allies fell back in their turn. In a few days, however, they themselves retreated again with great precipitation, though they did not all escape. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, with a body of Prussian hussars, fell upon them suddenly at Molrichstadt where he routed and dispersed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuirassiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburg. He next day, which was the 1st of April, advanced with a body of horse and foot to Meinungen, where he found a considerable magazine, took two battalions prisoners, and surprised a third posted at Wasungen, after having defeated some Austrian troops that were on the march to its relief. While the hereditary prince was thus employed, the duke of Holstein,

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with another body of the confederates, dislodged the French from the post of Freyinstenau.

But the great object was to drive the enemy from Franckfort, before they should receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being determined upon this enterprize, assembled all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of forty thousand choice troops, and began his march on the 10th day of April. On the 13th he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found strongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. Their general, the duke de Broglie, accounted one of the best officers in France with respect to conduct and intrepidity, having received intelligence of the prince's design, occupied this post on the 12th, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his centry and flanks secured in such a manner, that the allies could not make their attack any other way but by the village. Notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, prince Ferdinand resolved to give them battle, and made his dispositions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great vivacity, and sustained a most terrible fire from eight German battalions, supported by several brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though reinforced by several battalions under the command of the prince of Ysembourg, far from dislodging the enemy from the village, were, after a veary obstinate dispute, obliged to retreat in some disorder, but rallied again behind a body of Hessian cavalry. The allies being repulsed in three different attacks, their general made a new disposition, and brought up his artillery, with which the village and different parts of the French line were severely canonaded. They were not slow in retorting an equal fire, which continued till night, when the allies retreated to Windeken, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, and about two thousand men, including the prince of Ysembourg, who fell in the action.

The French, by the nature of their situation, could not suffer much; but they were so effectually amused by the artful disposition of prince Ferdinand, that, instead of taking measures to harass him in his retreat, they carefully maintained their situation, apprehensive of another general attack. Indeed, they had great reason to be satisfied with the issue of this battle, without risking, in any measure, the advantage which they had

gained. It was their business to remain quiet, until their reinforcement should arrive, and this plan they invariably pursued.

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On the other hand, the allies, in consequence of their miscarriage, were reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive, and encountering a great number of difficulties and inconveniencies, during great part of the campaign, until the misconduct of the enemy turned the scale in their favour. In the mean time, the prince thought proper to begin his retreat in the night towards Fulda, in which his rear suffered considerably from a body of the enemy's light troops, under the command of M. de Blaisel, who surprised two squadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The first were taken or dispersed; the last escaped with the loss of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munster, and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earnest.

While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp and Crevelt, by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under a death and scarcity of every species of provision, because the country which they occupied was already exhausted, and all the supplies were brought from an immense distance. The single article of forage occasioned such enormous expence, as alarmed the administration of Great Britain, who, in order to prevent mismanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of parliament inspector-general of the forage, and sent him over to Germany in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general officer, that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a check upon those who were suspected of iniquitous appropriations. This gentleman is said to have met with such a cold reception, and so many mortifications in the execution of his office, that he was in a very little time sick of his employment. An enquiry into the causes of his reception, and of the practices which rendered it necessary to appoint such a superintendant, may be the province of some future historian, when truth may be investigated freely, without any apprehension of pains and penalties.

While great part of the allied army remained in cantonments about Munster, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the 3d day of June near Marburg, under the

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command of the marechal de Contades, who advanced to the northward, and fixed his head-quarters at Corbach; from whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel, which at his approach was abandoned by general Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the duke de Broglie, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Cassel into the territories of Hanover, where he occupied Gottengen without opposition; while the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lipstadt, and encamped about Soest and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden. These precautions, however, seemed to produce little effect in his favour. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglie, who likewise took Minden by assault, and made general Zastrow, with his garrison of fifteen hundred men, prisoners of war; misfortune considerably aggravated by the loss of an immense magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewise made themselves masters of Munster, invested Lipstadt, and all their operations were hitherto crowned with success. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progress, resolved to provide for the worst, by sending their chancery and most valuable effects to Stade, from whence, in case of necessity they might be conveyed by sea to England. In the mean time, they exerted all their industry in pressing men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under prince Ferdinand, who still continued to retire; and on the 11th day of July, removed his head-quarters from Osnabruck to Bomte, near the Weser. Here having received advice that Minden was taken by the French, he sent forwards a detachment to secure the post of Stoltznau on that river, where on the 15th he encamped.

Animosity
between
prince Fer-
dinand and
lord Geo.
Sackville.

The general of the allied army had for some time exhibited marks of animosity towards lord George Sackville, the second in command, whose extensive understanding, penetrating eye, and inquisitive spirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, nor soothed into tame acquiescence. He had opposed, with all his influence, a design of retiring towards the frontiers of Brunswick, in order to cover that country. He supported his opposition, by alledging, that it was the enemy's favourite object to cut off their communication with the Weser and the Elbe; in which, should they succeed, it

would be found impossible to transport the British troops to their own country, which was at that time threatened with invasion. He, therefore, insisted upon the army's retreating, so as to keep the communication open with Stade, where, in case of emergency, the English troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciously to this opinion, and exhibiting other instances of a prying disposition, he had rendered himself so disagreeable to the commander in chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was so eagerly desired as an opportunity of removing him from the station he filled.

Mean while, the French general, advancing to Minden, encamped in a strong situation, having that town on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in rear. The duke de Broglie commanded a separate body between Hanſbergen and Minden, on the other side of the Weser; and a third, under the duke de Brissac, consisting of eight thousand men, occupied a strong post by the village of Covelde, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand having moved his camp from Stoltz-nau to Peterſhagen, detached the hereditary prince on the 28th day of July to Lubeke, from whence he drove the enemy; and proceeding to Rimsel, was joined by major-general Dreves, who had retaken Osnabruck, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties: Then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to hamper the enemy's convoys from Paderborn. During these transactions, prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Peterſhagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a morass on the right, the village of Fredewalde on the left, and in front those of Northem-mern and Holtzenhausen. Fifteen battalions, and nineteen squadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of general Wangenheim on the left, behind the village of Dodenhauſen, which was fortified with some redoubts defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian hussars, and a brigade of hunters, sustained by two battalions of grenadiers, was posted between Buckebourg and the Weser, to observe the body of troops commanded by the duke of Broglie on the other side of the river.

On the last day of July, the mareſchal de Contades resolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglie to repaſs the river; advancing in eight columns, about midnight paſſed the rivulet of Barta, that

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runs along the morafs, and falls into the Wefer at Minden. At day-break he formed his army in order of battle, part of it fronting the corps of general Wangenheim at Dodenhauſen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings conſiſting of infantry, and the cavalry being ſtationed in the centre. At three in the morning the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille from a battery of ſix cannon, which they had raiſed in the preceding evening on the dyke of Eickhorſt. This was probably the firſt intimation he received of their intention. He forthwith cauſed two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille, and ordered the officer of the piquet-guard, there poſted, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity: At the ſame time, he ſent orders to general Gieſen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy's poſt at Eickhorſt; and this ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed. The prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took poſſeſſion with the reſt of the piquets of the village of Halen, where prince Ferdinand reſolved to ſupport his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy, but they ſoon abandoned it with precipitation. The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while general Wangenheim's corps filled up the ſpace between this laſt village and Dodenhauſen. The enemy made their principal effort on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpoſe, the duke de Bröglio attacked them with great fury, but was ſeverely checked by a battery of thirty cannon, prepared for his reception by the count de Buckebourg, grand maſter of the artillery, and ſerved with admirable effect, under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning both armies cannonaded each other; at ſix the fire of muſquetry began with great vivacity, and the action became very hot towards the right, where ſix regiments of Engliſh infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabineers and gendarmerie, but abſolutely broke every body of horſe and foot that advanced to attack them on the left and in the centre. The Heſſian cavalry, with ſome regiments of Holſtein, Pruſſian, and Hanoverian dragoons, poſted on the left, performed good ſervice. The cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. They were deſtined to ſupport the infantry of the third line; they conſiſted of the Bri-

tish and Hanoverian horse, commanded by lord George Sackville, whose second was the marquis of Granby. They were posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, and divided from it by a wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were sent, during the action, to bring them up; but whether these orders were contradictory, unintelligible, or imperfectly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any share in the action*; nor, indeed, were they originally intended for that purpose; nor was there the least occasion for their service; nor could they have come up in time and condition to perform effectual service, had the orders been explicit and consistent, and the commander acted with all possible expedition. Be that as it will, the enemy were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss: At length they gave way in every part; and about noon,

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* That the general was not pleased with the behaviour of lord George Sackville may be gathered from the following compliment to the marquis of Granby, implying a severe reflection upon his superior in command: *Orders of his serene highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, relative to the behaviour of the troops under him at the famous battle near Minden, on the 1st of August 1759.*

“ HIS serene highness orders his greatest thanks to be given the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards: To all the cavalry of the left wing, and to general Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du corps, and Hammerstin's; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His serene Highness declares publicly, that, next to God, he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure. His serene highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to general Sparcken, the duke of Holstein, lieutenant-generals Imhoff and Urf. His serene highness is extremely obliged to the count de Buckebourg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. colonel Browne, lieutenant colonel Hutte, major Haste, and the three English captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His serene highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to major-generals Waldegrave and Kingsly, for their great courage, and good order in which they conducted their brigades. His serene highness further orders it to be declared to lieutenant-general the marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded, that if he had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant. In short, his serene highness orders that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired he named, as the duke of Richmond, colonel Fitzroy, captain Ligonier, colonel Watson, captain Willson, aide-du-camp to major-general Waldegrave, adjutant-generals Erstoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the count Töbe, and Malorti; his serene highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his serene highness desires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occasions, when orders are brought to them by his aides-du-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay.”

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Duke de
Brissac de-
feated by
the Prince
of Brun-
swick.

abandoning the field of battle, were pursued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they lost a great number of men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and standards; whereas the loss of the allies was very inconsiderable, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of British infantry, commanded by the major-generals Waldegrave and Kingsley. To the extraordinary prowess of these gallant brigades, and the fire of the British artillery, which was admirably served by the captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great measure ascribed. That same night the enemy passed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion, and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

At first the marshal de Contades seemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendstein, to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his resolution, in consequence of his having received advice, that, on the very day of his own defeat, the duke de Brissac was vanquished by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, so that the passage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The duke de Brissac had been advantageously encamped with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the salt-pits. In this advantageous situation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and general de Kilmanseg with such vivacity and address, that his troops were totally routed, with the loss of six cannon, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. After the battle of Minden, colonel Fraytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the marshal de Contades, the prince of Condé, and the duke de Brissac, with part of their military chest and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence *.

* The following extracts of letters from the duke de Belleisle to the marshal de Contades will convey some idea of the virtue, policy, and necessities of the French ministry:

“ I am still afraid that Fischer sets out too late: It is, however, very important, and very essential, that we should raise large contributions. I see no other resource for our most urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must likewise procure subsistence of all kinds (independently of the money) that is to say, hay, straw, oats for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horses, even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen between this time and

Prince Ferdinand having garrisoned Minden, marched to Hervorden ; and the hereditary prince passed the Wefer at Hamelen, in order to pursue the enemy, who

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the end of September, to make a downright desert before the line of the quarters which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us ; at the same time reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the route which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up or seize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cause the greatest assiduity to be used in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every respect, before the end of November, with new tents, in order that, if it should be advisable for the king's political and military affairs, you may be able to assemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offensively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January ; and that you may have the satisfaction to show your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a general as you are, and a minister of the department of war that can foresee and concert matters with the general.

" You must be sensible, sir, that what I say to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps, even necessary, with respect to what you know, and of which I shall say more in my private letter.

" M. Duc de BELLEISLE."

" After observing all the formalities due to the magistrates of Cologne, you must seize on their great artillery by force, telling them, that you do so for their own defence against the common enemy of the empire ; that you will restore them when their city has nothing further to fear, &c. After all, you must take every thing you have occasion for, and give them receipts for it."—

" You must at any rate, consume all sorts of subsistence on the Higher Lippe, Paderborn, and Warburg ; you must destroy every thing which you cannot consume, so as to make a desert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand ; and on the other, from the Higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel, that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or the Lower Roer ; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under M. de Soubise, that they may not have it in their power to take possession of Cassel, and much less to march to Marburg, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lahn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left side of the Roer, and on the right side of the Rhine, as far as Dusseldorp, and Cologne."—

" You know the necessity of consuming or destroying, as far as is possible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Wefer and the Rhine on the one hand ; and on the other, betwixt the Lippe, the Bishopric of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra, ; and so to make a desert of Westphalia and Hesse."

" Although the prince of Waldeck appears outwardly neutral, he is very ill disposed, and deserves very little favour. You ought, therefore, to make no scruple of taking all you find in that territory ; but this must be done in an orderly manner, giving receipts, and observing the most exact discipline. All subsistence you leave in his country will fall to the enemy's share, who will, by that means, be enabled to advance to the Lahn, and towards the quarters which you are to occupy on the left side of the Roer. It is, therefore, a precaution become in a manner indispensibly necessary, to carry it all away from thence."—

" The question now is, what plan you shall think most proper for accomplishing, in the quickest and surest manner, our great purpose, which must be to consume, carry off, or destroy all the forage and subsistence of the country which we cannot keep possession of."—

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Munster taken by the allies.

retreated to Cassel, and from thence, by the way of Marpurg, as far as Gießen. In a word, they were continually harassed by that enterprising prince, who seized every opportunity of making an impression upon their army; took the greatest part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they possessed in Westphalia. The number of his prisoners amounted to fifteen hundred men besides the garrison left at Cassel, which surrendered at discretion. He likewise surprized a whole battalion, and defeated a considerable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres. In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches; and prince Ferdinand, having taken possession of Cassel, detached general Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munster, which he accordingly began to bombard and cannonade; but M. d'Armentieres, being joined by a fresh body of troops from the Lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and compelled Imhoff to raise the siege. It was not long, however, before this general was also reinforced; then he measured back his march to Munster, and the French commander withdrew in his turn. The place was immediately shut up by a close blockade; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of supplies. The city of Munster, being an object of importance, was disputed with great obstinacy. Armentieres received reinforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occasionally augmented; but the siege was not formally undertaken till November; when some heavy artillery being brought from England, the place was regularly invested, and the operations carried on with such vigour, that in a few days the city surrendered on capitulation.

The French retreat.

Prince Ferdinand having possessed himself of the town and castle of Marpurg, proceeded with the army

“The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most plentiful; they must, therefore, be eat to the very roots.”—

“You did mighty well, to talk in the most absolute tone with regard to the necessities. Racroth and Duysbourg must furnish our troops; it is necessary to speak in that tone to Germans; and you will find your account in using the same to the regencies of the elector of Cologne, and still more to that of the Palatine.

“After using all becoming ceremony, as we have the power in our hands, we must make use of it, and draw from the country of Bergue what shall be necessary for the subsistence of the garrison of Dusselorp, and of the light troops, and reserve what may be brought thither from Alsace and the bishoprics for a case of necessity.”

to Neidar-Weimar, and there encamped; while Contades remained at Gießen, on the south side the river Lahn, where he was joined by a colleague in the person of the mareschal d'Estrees. By this time he was become very unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is said to have charged on the misconduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and seemed to gain credit at the court of Versailles. While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing passed but skirmishes among the light troops, and little excursive expeditions. The French army was employed in removing their magazines, and fortifying Gießen, as if their intention was to retreat to Franckfort on the Maine, after having consumed all the forage, and made a military desert between the Lahn and that river. In the beginning of November, the mareschal duke de Broglio returned from Paris, and assumed the command of the army, from whence Contades and d'Estrees immediately retired, with several other general officers that were senior to the new commander.

The duke of Wirtemberg having taken possession of Fulda, the hereditary prince of Brunswick resolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpose he selected a body of troops, and began his march from Marburg early in the morning on the 28th day of November. Next night they lay at Augerbach, where they defeated the volunteers of Nassau: And at one o'clock in the morning of the 30th, they marched directly to Fulda, where the duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting such a visit, had invited all the fashionable people in Fulda to a sumptuous entertainment. The hereditary prince, having reconnoitred the avenues in person, took such measures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were scattered in small bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not hastily retired into the town, where however, they found no shelter. The prince forced open the gates; and they retreated to the other side of the town, where four battalions of them were defeated and taken; while the duke himself, with the rest of his forces, filed off on the other side of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place situated on the right flank of the French army. Perhaps this motion hastened the resolution of the duke de Broglio to abandon Gießen, and fall back to Friedberg, where

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Wirtem-
berg surpris-
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he established his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took possession of his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchalam, and seemed to make preparations for the siege of Gießen.

While both armies remained in this position, the duke de Broglie received the staff as marechal of France, and made an attempt to beat up the quarters of the allies. Having called in all his detachments he marched up to them on the 25th of December; but found them so well disposed to give him a warm reception, that he thought proper to lay aside his design, and nothing but a mutual cannonade ensued; then he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army removed to Corfsdorff, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marburg, where prince Ferdinand established his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time retrieved their superiority, in consequence of the hereditary prince's being detached with fifteen thousand men to join the king of Prussia at Freyberg, in Saxony. Thus, by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate great part of Westphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven to the other side of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the support of the Prussian monarch, who had met with divers disasters in the course of this campaign.

Prussians
march to
Poland.

It was not to any relaxation or abatement of his usual vigilance and activity, that this warlike prince owed the several checks he received. Even in the middle of winter, his troops under general Manteuffel, acted with great spirit against the Swedes in Pomerania. They made themselves masters of Damgarten, and several other places which the Swedes had garrisoned; and, the frost setting in, those who were quartered in the isle of Usedom passed over the ice to Wolgast, which they reduced without much difficulty. They undertook the sieges Demmin and Anclam at the same time, and the garrisons of both surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the number of two thousand seven hundred men, including officers. In Demmin they found four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a considerable magazine, with six-and-thirty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under general Knobloch surprised Erfurth, and raised considerable contributions at Gotha, Eisenach and Fulda; from whence also they

conveyed all the forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumburg. In the latter end of February, the Prussian major-general Woberfnow marched with a strong body of troops from Glogau in Silesia to Poland; and, advancing by the way of Lissa, attacked the castle of the prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had been very active against the interest of the Prussian monarch. After some resistance he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was sent prisoner with his whole garrison to Silesia. From hence Woberfnow proceeded to Posna, where he made himself master of a considerable magazine, guarded by two thousand Cossacks, who retired at his approach; and, having destroyed several others, returned to Silesia. In April, the fort of Penamunde, in Pomerania, was surrendered to Manteuffel; and about the same time a detachment of Prussian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg. Mean while, reinforcements were sent to the Russian army in Poland, which in April began to assemble upon the Vistula. The court of Petersburg had likewise begun to equip a large fleet, by means of which the army might be supplied with military stores and provisions; but this armament was retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which destroyed all the magazines and materials for ship-building to an immense value.

About the latter end of march, the king of Prussia assembled his army at Rhonstock, near Strigau; and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landsbot, encamped at Bolchenhayn. On the other hand, the Austrian army, under the command of mareschal Daun, was assembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of general Beck, who surprised and made prisoners a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, posted under colonel Düringsheven, at Griesenberg, on the frontiers of Silesia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and success of prince Henry, brother to the Prussian king, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April, he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the pass of Peterwalde, destroyed the Austrian magazine at Aussig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, seized the forage and provision which the enemy had left at Lowolitz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the same time general Hulsén attacked the pass of Pass-

Prince
Henry
penetrates
into Bohe-
mia;

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berg, guarded by Renard who was taken, with two thousand men, including fifty officers : Then he advanced to Satz, in hopes of securing the Austrian magazines ; but these the enemy consumed that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmost precipitation.

And obliges
the Imperial
army to
retire.

Prince Henry, having happily achieved these adventures, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and consternation, returned to Saxony, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment in the neighbourhood of Dresden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and marched to Obelgeburgen ; from whence he continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered his country by the way of Hoff, on the 7th of May, and next day sent a detachment to attack general Macquire, who commanded a body of Imperialists at Ach, and sustained the charge with great gallantry ; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the Prince de Deux-Ponts, being unable to cope with the Prussian general in the field, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where in all probability, they would not have been suffered to remain unmolested, had not prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the castle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received advice that a body of Austrians, under general Gemmingen, had penetrated into Saxony. This diversion effectually saved the army of the empire, as prince Henry immediately returned to the electorate, after having laid the bishopric of Bamberg and the marquisate of Cullembach under contribution, destroyed all the magazines, provided for the imperial army, and sent fifteen hundred prisoners to Leipstick. A party of imperialists under count Palsy, endeavoured to harass him in his retreat but they were defeated near Hoff, with considerable slaughter ; nevertheless, the Imperial army, though now reduced to ten thousand men, returned to Bamberg ; and as the Prussians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Austrian general, Gemmingen, retired into Bohemia. During all these transactions, the marshal count Daun remained with the grand Austrian army at Schurtz, in the circle of Koningsgratz ; while the Prussians, commanded by the king in person, continued quietly en-

camped between Landshut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet commanded a large body of troops in the southern part of Silesia; but these being mostly withdrawn, in order to oppose the Russians, the Austrian general De Fille, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia, with a considerable detachment, took advantage of this circumstance, and advancing into Silesia, encamped within sight of Neiss.

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As mutual calumny and recrimination of all kinds were not spared on either side, during the progress of this war, the enemies of the Prussian monarch did not fail to charge him with cruelties committed at Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg, which his troops had bombarded, plundered of its archives, cannon and all its youth fit to carry arms, who were pressed into his service; he besides taxed the duchy at seven thousand men, and a million of crowns, by way of contribution. He was also accused of barbarity, in issuing an order for removing all the prisoners from Berlin to Spandau; but this step he justified, in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts, declaring, that he had provided for all the officers that were his prisoners the best accommodation, and permitted them to reside in his capital; that some of them had grossly abused the liberty they enjoyed, by maintaining illicit correspondence, and other practices equally offensive, which had obliged him to remove them to the town of Spandau; he desired, however that the town might not be confounded with the fortress of that name, from which it was entirely separated, and in which they would enjoy the same ease they had found at Berlin, though under more vigilant inspection. His conduct, on this occasion, he said, was sufficiently authorised, not only by the law of nations, but also by the example of his enemies; inasmuch as the empress-queen had never suffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reside at Vienna; and the court of Russia had sent some of them as far as Casan. He concluded with saying, that as his enemies had let slip no opportunity of blackening his most innocent proceedings he had thought proper to acquaint his ministers with his reasons for making this alteration with regard to his prisoners, whether French, Austrians, or Russians.

King of Prussia vindicates his conduct respecting prisoners.

In the beginning of June, the king of Prussia, understanding that the Russian army had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops under Hulfen and Wobersnow, reinforced by

Prussians worsted by the Russians at Zulichau.

detachments from his other armies, to join the forces under count Dohna, as general in chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz, where the count having published a declaration *, he conti-

* The following declarations were published by count Dohna, a Prussian general, on his entering Poland with a body of Prussian troops.

On the 15th of June.

HIS Prussian majesty, finding himself under a necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy, declares that it must not be understood that his majesty, by this step taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them; but on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious republic will, on its parts, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired.

The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia so far as beyond Posen, are required to furnish all kinds of provisions, corn, and forage necessary to support an army of 40,000 men, with the utmost dispatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to expectation, any deficiency, should happen in supplying this demand, his majesty's troops will be obliged to forage and use the same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence.

In confidence thereof, that the several jurisdictions upon the Prussian frontiers, within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they are assured that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatsoever is delivered will be paid for in ready money.

On the 17th of June.

IT was with the greatest astonishment that the king, my most gracious lord and master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the service of a potentate with whom he is at war; his majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are desired to take notice, &c.

On the 22d of June.

WE invite and desire that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbeyes, convents, seigniories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Posnania, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences; we expect, on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any runaway or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the same shall be paid, and a reasonable gratification superadded.

If any one hath any inclination to enter into the king of Prussia's service with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

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nued his march towards Posna, where he found the Russian army under count Soltikoff strongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of canon. Count Dohna, judging it impracticable to attack them in his situation with any prospect of success, endeavoured to intercept their convoys to the eastward; but for want of provision, was in a little time obliged to return towards the Oder; then the Russians advanced to Zullichaw, in Silesia. The king of Prussia, thinking count Dohna had been rather too cautious, considering the emergency of affairs gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health, and conferred his command upon general Wedel, who resolved to give the Russians battle without delay. Thus determined, he marched against them in two columns; and, on the 23d day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichaw, where, after a very obstinate engagement, he was repulsed with great loss Wobersnow being killed, and Manteuffel wounded in the action; and in a few days the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Oder.

By this time, the armies of count Daun and the king of Prussia had made several motions. The Austrians having quitted their camp at Schurts, advanced towards Zittau in Lusatia, where, having halted a few days, they resumed their march, and encamped at Gorlithayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Lissa. His Prussian majesty, in order to observe their motions, marched by the way of Herchborg to Lahn; and his vanguard skirmished with that of the Austrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Silesia by the way of Griefenberg. The Austrian general was obliged to retreat with loss; while the king penetrated into Silesia, that he might be at hand to act against the Russians, whose progress was now become the chief object of his apprehension. He no sooner received intimation that Wedel had been worsted, than he marched with a select body of ten thousand men from his camp in Silesia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under the direction of his brother prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being apprised of the

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If any prince or member of the republic of Poland be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be shown to his merit, &c.

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king's intention, and knowing the Russians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse to join them, under the command of Laudohn; and these, penetrating in two columns through Silesia and Lusatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture. Mean while, the king of Prussia joined general Wedel on the 4th day of August at Muhldorf, where he assumed the command of the army: But finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached some time before, with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the imperialists in Saxony: For when prince Henry joined his brother in Silesia, the army of the empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the king's army at Muhldorf did not exceed fifty thousand, whereas the Russians were more numerous by thirty thousand. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunersdorf, almost opposite to Franckfort upon the Oder, and increased the natural strength of their situation by entrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery. In other circumstances it might have been deemed a rash and ridiculous enterprise to attack such an army under such complicated disadvantages; but here was no room for hesitation. The king's affairs seemed to require a desperate effort; and perhaps he was partly impelled by self-confidence and animosity.

The battle
of Cuners-
dorf.

Having determined to hazard an attack, he made his disposition, and on the 12th day of August, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about eleven the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, he charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate dispute, the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts, that covered the village of Cunersdorf were taken by assault, one after another. One half of the task was not yet performed: The Russians made a firm stand at the village; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post up to the last redoubts they had to defend. As the Russians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this success was not acquired without infinite labour, and a considerable expence of blood. After a furious

contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the king dispatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory."

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This intimation was premature, and subjected the writer to the ridicule of his enemies. The Russians were staggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing, under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews Burying-ground, and here they stood in order of battle, with the most resolute countenance, favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery, still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Had the king contented himself with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought against terrible odds with astonishing prowess; and that he judiciously desisted, when he could no longer persevere without incurring the imputation of being actuated by frenzy or despair. His troops had not only suffered severely from the enemy's fire, which was close, deliberate, and well directed, but they were fatigued by the hard service, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was excessive. His general officers are said to have reminded him of all these circumstances; and to have dissuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with such danger and difficulty, as even an army of fresh troops could hardly hope to surmount. He rejected this salutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack, which being an enterprise beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Being afterwards rallied they returned to the charge: They miscarried again, and their loss was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further service, the cavalry succeeded to the attack, and repeated their unsuccessful efforts until they were almost broke, and entirely exhausted. At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore fresh, and in spirits, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke their line at the first charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into such disorder as could not be repaired. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was seized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and dispersed, notwithstanding the

The king
of Prussia
defeated
with great
slaughter.

personal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, while two horses were killed under him, and his clothes in several parts penetrated with musquet-balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or disabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have saved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he dispatched another billet to the queen, couched in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." The horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be easily conceived: Horror the more aggravated, as it seized them in the midst of their rejoicing occasioned by the first dispatch; and this was still more dreadfully augmented, by a subsequent indistinct relation importing, that the army was totally routed, the king missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunersdorf was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. The carnage was truly horrible: Above twenty thousand Prussians lay dead on the field, and among these general Puttkammer. The generals Seidlitz, Itzenplitz, Hulfen, Finck, and Wedel, the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals were wounded. The loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand. It must be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own person, he was likewise very free with the lives of his subjects. At no time, since the days of ignorance and barbarity have the lives of men been squandered away with such profusion as in the course of this German war. They were not only unnecessarily sacrificed in various exploits of no consequence, but lavishly exposed to all the rigour and distemper of winter campaigns, which have been introduced on the continent, in despite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! Such the refinements of German discipline!

On the day that succeeded the defeat at Cunersdorf, the king of Prussia, having lost the best part of his army, together with his whole train of artillery, repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; from whence he advanced to Fustenwalde, and saw with astonishment the forbearance of the enemy. Instead of taking possession of Berlin, and overwhelming the wreck of the king's troops, destitute of cannon, and cut off from all

communication with prince Henry, they took no step to improve the victory they had gained. Laudohn retired with his horse immediately after the battle, and count Soltikoff, marched with part of the Russians into Lusatia, where he joined Daun, and held consultations with that general. Perhaps the safety of the Prussian monarch was owing to the jealousy subsisting among his enemies. In all probability probability, the court of Vienna would have been chagrined to see the Russians in possession of Brandenburg and therefore thwarted their designs upon that electorate. The king of Prussia had now reason to be convinced, that his situation could not justify such a desperate attack as that in which he had miscarried at Cunersdorf; for if the Russians did not attempt the reduction of his capital, now that he was totally defeated, and the flower of his army cut off, they certainly would not have aspired at that conquest while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood with fifty thousand veterans, inured to war, accustomed to conquer, confident of success, and well supplied with provision, ammunition, and artillery. As the victors allowed him time to breathe, he improved this interval with equal spirit and sagacity. He re-assembled and refreshed his broken troops: He furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a considerable number of recruits: He recalled general Kleist, with five thousand men, from Pomerania; and in a little time retrieved his former importance.

The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipstick, Torgau, and even took possession of Dresden itself, the king detached six thousand men under general Wunch, to check the progress of the imperialists in that electorate; and perceiving the Russians intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to frustrate their design. While the four great armies, commanded by the king of Prussia, general Soltikoff, prince Henry, and count Daun, lay encamped in Lusatia, and on the borders of Silesia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried by detachments with great vivacity. General Wunch having retaken Leipstick, and joined Finck at Eulinbourg, the united body began their march towards Dresden; and a detachment from the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Noßin, general

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gained by
the Prus-
sians in
Saxony.

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Haddick abandoned the advantageous post he occupied near Roth-Schemberg, and, being joined by the whole army of the empire, resolved to attack the Prussian generals, who now encamped at Corbitz near Meissen. Accordingly, on the 21st day of September, he advanced against them and endeavoured to dislodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himself obliged to retire with considerable loss, leaving the field of battle with about five hundred prisoners, in the hands of the Prussians.

Gen. Vehla
surprised.

This advantage was succeeded by another exploit of prince Henry, who, on the 23d day of the month, quit-
ted his camp at Hornsdorf, near Gorlitz, and, after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenberg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerfwerda, where he surprised a body of four thousand men, commanded by general Vehla, killed six hundred, and made twice that number prisoners, including the commander himself. After this achievement, he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while marechal Daun likewise abandoned his camp in Lusatia, and made a forced march to Dresden, in order to frustrate the prince's supposed design on that capital. The Russians, disappointed in their scheme upon Glogau, had repassed the Oder at Neusalze, and were encamped at Fraustadt; general Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, lay at Schlichtingskeim; and the king of Prussia at Koben; all three on or near the banks of that river. Prince Henry perceiving his army almost surrounded by Austrian detachments, ordered general Finck to drive them from Vogelsang, which they abandoned accordingly; and sent Wunch, with six battalions and some cavalry, across the Elbe, to join the corps of general Rebentisch at Wittenberg, whither he had retired from Duben at the approach of the Austrians. On the 29th day of October, the duke d'Aremberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, decamped from Dammitz, in order to occupy the heights near Pretsch, and was encountered by general Wunch, who, being posted on two rising grounds, cannonaded the Austrians in their march with considerable effect, and the prince took twelve hundred prisoners, including lieutenant-general Gemmingen, and twenty inferior officers, with some cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The duke was obliged to change his route, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg; and general Waffersleben

occupied Strehla, where next day the whole army encamped. In this situation the prince remained till the 16th day of November, when, being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a strong camp, where his left flank was covered by that city and the river Elbe; his right being secured by a wood, and a great part of his front by an impassable morass.

Here he was reinforced with about twenty thousand men from Silesia, and joined by the king himself, who forthwith detached general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the king advanced to Wilsdorf, imagining that he had effectually succeeded in his design. Letters were sent to Berlin and Magdebourg, importing, that count Daun would be forced to hazard a battle, as he had now no resource but in victory. Finck had no sooner taken post on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Austrian general sent officers to reconnoitre his situation, and immediately resolved to attack him with the corps de reserve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldswalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Prussians never dreamed of their approach until they saw themselves entirely surrounded. In this emergency they defended themselves with their cannon and musketry until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken:

Then they retired to another rising ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made such dispositions, that at day-break general Finck found himself entirely inclosed, without the least possibility of escaping, and sent a trumpet to count Daun, to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one single article, importing, That he and eight other Prussian generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, should be received as prisoners of war. He was obliged to submit, and his whole corps, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty five squadrons, with sixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian general. This misfortune was the more mortifying to the

General
Finck with
his whole
army taken
prisoners;

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king of Prussia, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory, as an infallible proof of Daun's superior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loss of the Saxon army, which, though less numerous, capitulated in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, after having held out six weeks against the whole power of the Prussian monarch. General Hulsen had been detached, with about nine battalions and thirty squadrons, to the assistance of Finck; but he arrived at Klinchenberg too late to be of any service; and, being recalled, was next day sent to occupy the important post of Freyberg.

and like-
wise Gene-
ral Diercke.

The defeat of general Finck was not the only disaster which befel the Prussians at the close of this campaign. General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry, and a thousand horse, on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed, except himself, with the rear-guard, consisting of three battalions, he was, on the 3d day of December, in the morning, attacked by a strong body of Austrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obstinate dispute. The king of Prussia, weakened by these two successive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had not he been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunswick. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the usual maxims of his cautious discretion. Instead of attacking the king of Prussia, respectable and formidable even in adversity, he quietly occupied the strong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to succour Dresden, in case it should be attacked, and maintain his communication with Bohemia.

Conclusion
of the cam-
paign.

By this time the Russians had retired to winter-quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitless excursion in the absence of Manteuffel, retreated to Stralsund and the isle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more decisive than the last. Abundance of lives were lost, and great part of Ger-

many was exposed to rapine, murder, famine, desolation, and every species of misery that war could engender. In vain the confederating powers of Austria, Russia, and Sweden united their efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himself totally overthrown, with great slaughter, in the heart of his own dominions, though he appeared in a desperate situation, environed by hostile armies, and two considerable detached bodies of his troops were taken or destroyed; yet he kept all his adversaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his best auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which seemed to be the prize contested between him and the Austrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would imagine he must have been crushed between the shock of so many adverse hosts, had they been intent upon closing him in, and heartily concurred for his destruction: But, instead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in separate bodies, and with jealous eye seemed to regard the progress of each other. It was not, therefore, to any compunction, or kind forbearance, in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The resentment of the house of Austria seemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled indignation, and the majority of the Germanic Body seemed to enter with warmth into her quarrel*.

When the protestant states, in arms against the court of Vienna, were put under the ban of the empire, the Evangelical Body, though without the concurrence of the Swedish and Danish ministers, issued an arret at

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* The obstinacy of the powers in opposition to Great Britain and Prussia appeared still more remarkable in their slighting the following declaration, which duke Louis of Brunswick delivered to their ministers at the Hague, in the month of December, after Quebec was reduced, and the fleet of France totally defeated:

“ Their Britannic and Prussian majesties, moved with compassion at the mischiefs which the war that has been kindled for some years has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce, should think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions in this respect, their said majesties have determined to make the following declarations, viz.

“ That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place which shall be thought most proper, in order that, to treat, conjointly, of a solid and general peace with those whom the belligerent parties shall think fit to acknowledge, on their part, for the attaining so salutary an end.”

Arret of
the Evangelical
Body.

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Ratisbon, in the month of November of the last year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation signed by the emperor at his election, in order to demonstrate that the protestant states claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the constitution. They declared that their association was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themselves to adhere to the laws, without suffering, under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire should reside wholly in the emperor. They affirmed, that this power was renounced, in express terms, by the capitulation: They, therefore, refused to admit, as legal, any sentence of the ban deficient in the requisite conditions; and inferred, that, according to law, neither the elector of Brandenburg, nor the elector of Hanover, nor the duke of Wolfenbüttele, nor the landgrave of Hesse, nor the count of Lippe-Bückeburg, ought to be proscribed.

The imperial Protestant cities having acceded to this arret or declarations, the emperor, in a rescript, required them to retract their accession to the resolution of the Evangelic body; which, it must be owned, was altogether inconsistent with their former accession to the resolutions of the diet against the king of Prussia. This rescript having produced no effect, the arret was answered in February by an imperial decree of commission carried to the dictature, importing, that the imperial court could not longer hesitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had specified: That the invalidity of the arret was manifest, inasmuch as the electors of Brandenburg and Brunswic, the dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Brunswic-Wolfenbüttel, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were the very persons who disturbed the empire; this, therefore, being an affair in which they themselves were parties, they could not possibly be qualified to concur in a resolution of this nature: Besides, the number of the other states which had acceded was very inconsiderable: For these reasons, the emperor could not but consider the resolution in question as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was disturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the states which had joined them, in order to support and favour their frivolous pretensions. His imperial majesty expressed his hope and confidence, that the other electors, princes, and states of the empire would vote the said resolution to

be null, and of no force ; and never suffer so small a number of states, who were adherents of and abettors to the disturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole Germanic body ; to abuse the name of the associated estates of the Augsbourg confession, in order forcibly to impose a *factum*, entirely repugnant to the constitution of the empire ; to deprive their co-estates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to subvert the system of the Germanic body. These remarks will speak for themselves to the reflection of the unprejudiced reader.

The implacability of the court of Vienna was equalled by nothing but the perseverance of the French ministry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Westphalia, the campaign on that side having ended exactly where it had begun ; though the chief source of their commerce in the West Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loss of Quebec ; though their coffers rung with emptiness, and their confederates were clamorous for subsidies, they still resolved to maintain the war in Germany ; and this was doubtless the most politic resolution to which they could adhere, because their enemies, instead of exerting all their efforts where there was almost a certainty of success, kindly condescended to seek them where alone their whole strength could be advantageously employed, without any great augmentation of their ordinary expence. Some of the springs of their national wealth were indeed exhausted, or diverted into other channels : But the subjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the necessities of the state were supplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt, but they likewise sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into specie, for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were protested, to an immense amount, and a stop was put to all the annuities granted at Versailles on sums borrowed for the use of the marine. Besides the considerable savings occasioned by these acts of state bankruptcy, they had resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the success of Great Britain with an eye of jealousy ; and were moreover inflamed against her with the most rancorous resentment,

French ministry stop payment.

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Memorials
and Expo-
sitions
with the
Dutch.

on account of the captures which had been made of their West India ships by the English cruizers.

In the month of February, the merchants of Amsterdam having received advice that the cargoes of their West India ships, detained by the English, would, by the British courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, sent a deputation, with a petition to the states-general, entreating them to use their intercession with the court of London, representing the impossibility of furnishing the proofs required in so short a time as that prescribed by the British admiralty; and that, as the island of St. Eustatia had but one road, and there was no other way of taking in cargoes but that of Overschippen*, to which the English had objected, a condemnation of these ships, as legal prizes, would give the finishing stroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever remonstrances the states-general might have made on this subject to the ministry of Great Britain, they had no effect upon the proceedings of the court of admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ships as often as they were proved to be French property; and this resolute uniformity in a little time intimidated the subjects of Holland from persevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had so far prevailed, that in the beginning of the year the states of Holland had passed a formal resolution to equip five-and-twenty ships of war; and orders were immediately dispatched to the officers of admiralty to complete the armament with all possible expedition. In the month of April, the states-general sent over to London three ministers extraordinary, to make representations, and remove, if possible, the causes of misunderstanding that had arisen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king, with a formal harangue; they said his majesty would see, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to present, how ardently their high mightinesses desired to cultivate the sincere friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, so necessary for their common welfare and preservation; they expressed an earnest wish that they might be happy enough to remove those difficulties which had for some time struck at this friendship, and caused so much prejudice to the

* The method called Overschippen is that of using French boats to load Dutch vessels with the produce of France.

principal subjects of the republic ; who, by the commerce they carried on, constituted its greatest strength, and chief support. They declared their whole confidence was placed in his majesty's equity, for which the republic had the highest regard, and in the good-will he had always expressed towards a state which, on all occasions, had interested itself in promoting his glory ; a state which was the guardian of the precious trust bequeathed by a princess so dear to his affection.—

“ Full of this confidence (said they) we presume to flatter ourselves that your majesty will be graciously pleased to listen to our just demands ; and we shall endeavour, during the course of our ministry, to merit your approbation, in strengthening the bonds by which the two nations ought to be for ever united.” In answer to this oration, the king assured them, that he had always regarded their high mightinesses as his best friends. He said, if difficulties had arisen concerning trade, they ought to be considered as the consequences of a burthenfome war which he was obliged to wage with France. He desired they would assure their high mightinesses, that he should endeavour, on his part, to remove the obstacles in question, and expressed his satisfaction, that they (the deputies) were come over with the same disposition. What representations these deputies made, further than complaints of some irregularities in the conduct of the British sea-officers, we cannot pretend to specify ; but as the subject in dispute related entirely to the practice of the courts of judicature, it did not fall properly under the cognizance of the government, which hath no right to interfere with the administration of justice. In all probability, the subjects of Holland were by no means pleased with the success of this negotiation, for they murmured against the English nation without ceasing. They threatened and complained by turns, and eagerly seized all opportunities of displaying their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great Britain.

In the month of September, major-general Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states-general, remonstrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by transporting cannon and warlike stores from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private persons ; and then conveying them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the dutch fortresses, to Dunkirk, and other

places of France. He desired that the king his master might be made easy on that head, by their putting an immediate stop to such practices, so repugnant to the connections subsisting by treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality. He observed, that the attention which his majesty had lately given to their representations against the excesses of the English privateers, by procuring an act of parliament which laid them under proper restrictions, gave him a good title to the same regard on the part of their high mightinesses. He reminded them, that their trading towns felt the good effects of these restrictions ; and that the freedom of navigation, which their subjects enjoyed amidst the troubles and distraction of Europe, had considerably augmented their commerce. He observed, that some return ought to be made to such solid proofs of the king's friendship and moderation ; at least, the merchants, who were so ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in excesses, which would have justified the most rigorous examination of their conduct. He recalled to their memories, that, during the course of the present war, the king had several times applied to their high mightinesses, and to their ministers, on the liberty they had given to carry stores through the fortresses of the republic, for the use of France, to invade the British dominions ; and though his majesty had passed over in silence many of these instances of complaisance to his enemy, he was no less sensible of the injury ; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself, than to increase the embarrassment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war. He took notice, that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occasion, employed its interest with their high mightinesses, and lent its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for the French troops, under colour of the barrier treaty, which it no longer observed : Nay, after having put France in possession of Ostend and Nieuport, in manifest violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which they and the king his master had acquired in that treaty, at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

The memorial seems to have made some impression on the states-general, as they scrupled to allow the artillery and stores belonging to the French king to be removed from Amsterdam : But these scruples vanished entirely on the receipt of a counter memorial, pre-

sent by the count d'Affry, the French ambassador, who mingled some effectual threats with his expostulation. He desired them to remember, that, during the whole course of the war, the French king had required nothing from their friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartiality; and if he had deviated from the engagements subsisting between him and the republic, it was only by granting the most essential and lucrative favours to the subjects of their high mightinesses. He observed, that the English, notwithstanding the insolence of their behaviour to the republic, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United Provinces: That the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to Wessel, were deposited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army, in passing the Rhine, had very little respected: That when they repassed that river, they, had no other way of saving their sick and wounded from the hands of the French, then by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmolested, actuated by their respect for the neutrality of the republic: That part of their magazines was still deposited in the towns of the United provinces; where also the enemies of France had purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gunpowder. He told them, that though these and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints, the king of France did not think it proper to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republic should be restrained in branches of commerce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, persuaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preserved, though attended with some accidental and transient disadvantages. He gave them to understand, that the king his master had ordered the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the republic, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way, before they were forced to repass the Rhine. After such unquestionable marks of regard, he said, his king would have the justest ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he should hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were detained at Amsterdam. Thirdly, he declared, that such detention would be construed as a violation of the neutrality; and demanded, in the name of the king, his master, that the

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Death of
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of Spain.

artillery and stores should be, without delay, forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amsterdam, and the inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive, that they immediately granted the necessary passports, in consequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Austrian Netherlands.

The powers in the southern parts of Europe were too much engrossed with their own concerns to interest themselves deeply in the quarrels that distracted the German empire. The king of Spain, naturally of a melancholy complexion and delicate constitution, was so deeply affected with the loss of his queen, who died in the course of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all business, and immured himself in a chamber at Villa-Viciosa, where he gave a loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and rest, until his strength was quite exhausted. He would neither shift himself, nor allow his beard to be shaved : He rejected all attempts of consolation, and remained deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those who had a right to tender their advice. In this case, the affliction of the mind must have been reinforced by some peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father ; and this seems to have been dreaded as a family disease ; for the infant Don Louis, who likewise resided at the palace of Villa-Viciosa was fain to amuse himself with hunting, and other diversions, to prevent his being infected with the king's disorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relics ; but they seemed insensible to all their devotion. The king, however, in the midst of all his distress, was prevailed upon to make his will, which was written by the count de Valparaíso, and signed by the duke de Bajar, high chancellor of the kingdom. The exorbitancy of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year, till the 10th of August in the present, when he expired. In his will, he had appointed his brother, Don Carlos, king of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain ; and nominated the queen-dowager as regent of the kingdom, until that prince should arrive. Accordingly, she assumed the reins of government, and gave directions

for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the visitation at Madrid.

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II.

As the death of this prince had been long expected, so the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that his demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case Don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his brother Don Philip should succeed him on the throne of Naples; and the duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The king of Naples had never acceded to this article, therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms, without minding the claims of the empress-queen, who, he knew, was at that time in no condition to support her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition. Before he embarked for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son, Don Philip, who now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a state of incurable idiotism*, he wisely and resolutely removed him from the succeſ-

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Succeeded
by his brother
Don
Carlos,

Who makes
a remarkable
settlement.

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* *Abstract of the report made to his catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the prince royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness was declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.*

1. Though his royal highness Don Philip is thirteen years old he is of low stature, and yet the king his father, and the queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highness has some contraction in his joints, though he can readily move, and make use of them on all occasions.

3. His royal highness is apt to stoop and hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince most evidently squints, and his eyes frequently water and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highness can without doubt distinguish objects, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent, to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kinds of common food, such as fruits, sweetmeats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise or sound disturb and disconcert him; and it has the same effect whether it be soft and harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impressions that he receives from pain or pleasure are neither

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fion, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and settlement of the crown of the two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, That, according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, when such a separation could be effected without transgressing the rules of justice: That the unfortunate prince-royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the succession, how agreeable soever such a disposition might be to nature and his paternal affection: He was, therefore, constrained, by the Divine Will, to set him aside, in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated, and freed not only from all obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then decreed, that the minority of the princes succeeding to the kingdom of the two Sicilies should expire with the fifteenth year of their age, when they should act as sovereigns, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the said Don Ferdinand these kingdoms, with all that he possessed in Italy; and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the infant Don Ferdinand, and counter-signed by the counsellors and secretaries of state, in quality of members

strong nor lasting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all punctilios of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he sometimes remembers them and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least ideas of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the king and kingdom; Don Emanuel de la Rosa, physician to the queen; and the physicians Cæsar Ciribue Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Don Dominique San Severino.

of the regency, received all the usual forms of authenticity. CHAP. II.

Don Carlos having taken these precautions for the benefit of his third son, whom he left king of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a squadron of Spanish ships, who conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid, where, as king of Spain, he was received amidst the acclamations of his people. He began his reign, like a wise prince, by regulating the interior economy of his kingdom; by pursuing the plan adopted by his predecessor; by retaining the ministry under whose auspices the happiness and commerce of his people had been extended; and, with respect to the belligerent powers, by scrupulously adhering to that neutrality from whence these advantages were in a great measure derived.

While he serenely enjoyed the blessings of prosperity, his neighbour the king of Portugal was engrossed by a species of employment, which, of all others, must be the most disagreeable to a prince of sentiment who loves his people; namely, the trial and punishment of those conspirators, by whose atrocious attempt his life had been so much endangered. Among these were numbered some of the first noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by disappointed ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exasperated by revenge. The principal conspirator, Don Joseph Mascarenhas and Lencastre, duke of Aveiro marquis of Torres Novas, and Conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-steward of the king's household, and president of the palace-court, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom; so that he possessed the first office in the palace, and the second in the realm. Francisco de Affiz, marquis of Tavora Conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horse, and head of the third noble house of the Tavoras, the most illustrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient kings of Leon: He married his own kinswoman, who was marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquifate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldest son, who, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, had espoused his own aunt Donna Theresa de Tavora. Joseph Maria de Tavora, his youngest brother, was also involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attaide, conde of Attouguia, himself a relation, and married to the eldest daughter of

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the marquis of Tavora. The characters of all these personages were unblemished and respectable, until this machination was detected. In the course of investigating this dark affair, it appeared that the duke of Aveiro had conceived a personal hatred to the king, who had disappointed him in a projected match between his son and a sister of the duke de Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining some commanderies which the late duke of Aveiro had possessed: That this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge against the person of his sovereign, had exerted all his art and address in securing the participation of the malcontents: That, with this view, he reconciled himself to the Jesuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incensed against the king, who had dismissed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of disgrace, on account of their illegal and rebellious practices in South America: The duke, moreover, insinuated himself into the confidence of the marchioness of Tavora, notwithstanding an inveterate rivalship of pride and ambition, which had long subsisted between the two families. Her resentment against the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulses, when she solicited the title of duke for her husband. Her passions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jesuits, to whom she had resigned the government of her conscience; and they are said to have persuaded her, that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people. She, being reconciled to the scheme of assassination, exerted her influence in such a manner as to inveigle her husband, her sons, and son-in-law into the same infamous design; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and sweetness of disposition. Many consultations were held by the conspirators at the colleges of the Jesuits, St. Antoa, and St. Roque, as well as at the houses of the duke and the marquis. At last, they resolved that the king should be assassinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joseph Policarpio, for the execution of this design, the miscarriage of which we have related among the transactions of the preceding year.

In the beginning of January, before the circumstances of the conspiracy were known, the counts de Oberras and de Ribeira Grande, were imprisoned in the

castle of St. Julian, on a suspicion arising from their freedom of speech. The duchess de Aveiro, the countess of Attouguia, and the marchioness of Alorna, with their children, were sent to different nunneries; and eight Jesuits were taken into custody. A council being appointed for the trial of the prisoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and sentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a scaffold, raised in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners had been confined, and the 13th of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the assassins who had fired into the king's equipage, was fixed to a stake at one corner of the scaffold; and at the other was placed the effigy of his accomplice, Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, who had made his escape. The marchioness of Tavora, being brought upon the scaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was beheaded at one stroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two sons, and her son-in-law, the count of Attouguia, with three servants of the duke de Aveiro, were first strangled at one stake and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; But the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conspiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the most excruciating torments. The last that suffered was the assassin Alvarez who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combustibles which had been placed under the scaffold were set on fire, the whole machine with their bodies consumed to ashes, and these ashes thrown into the sea. The estates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiscated, and their dwelling-houses rased to the ground. The name of Tavora was suppressed for ever by a public decree; but that of Mascarenhas spared, because the duke de Aveiro was a younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thousand crowns was offered to any person who should apprehend the assassin who had escaped. Then the embargo was taken off the shipping. The king and royal family assisted at a public *Te Deum* sung in the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Livramento; on which occasion the king, for the satisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to show he was not maimed by the wounds he had received. If such an attempt upon the life of a king was infamously cruel and perfidious, it must be owned that the punishment inflicted upon the criminals was

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horrible to human nature. The attempt itself was attended with some circumstances that might have staggered belief, had it not appeared but too plain, that the king was actually wounded. One would imagine, that the duke de Aveiro, who was charged with designs on the crown, would have made some preparations for taking advantage of the confusion and disorder which must have been produced by the king's assassination; but we do not find that any thing of this nature was premeditated. It was no more than a desperate scheme of personal revenge, conceived without caution, and executed without conduct: A circumstance the more extraordinary, if we suppose the conspirators were actuated by the councils of the Jesuits, who have been ever famous for finess and dexterity. Besides the discovery of all the particulars was founded upon confession extorted by the rack, which, at best, is a suspicious evidence. Be that as it will, the Portuguese government, without waiting for a bull from the pope, sequestered all the estates and effects of the Jesuits in that kingdom, which amounted to considerable sums, and reduced the individuals of the society to a very scanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the Jesuits in Portugal. In the mean time, the court of Lisbon ordered a considerable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and resolved that no Jesuit should hereafter reside within its realms. When these transports arrived at Civita-Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houses could be prepared for their reception at Trivoli and Fiescati. The most guilty of them, however, were detained in close prison in Portugal, reserved, in all probability, for a punishment more adequate to their enormities.

Parliamentary
trans-
actions.

England still continued to enjoy the blessings of peace even amidst the triumphs of war. In the month of November, the session of parliament was opened by commission; and, the commons attending in the house of peers, the lord-keeper harangued the parliament to this effect: He gave them to understand that his majesty had directed him to assure them that he thought himself peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a situation of affairs so glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdoms: That the king saw and devoutly adored the hand of providence, in the many

signal successes both by sea and land, with which his arms had been blessed in the course of the last campaign: That he reflected with great satisfaction on the confidence which the parliament had in him, by making such ample provisions, and entrusting him with such extensive powers for carrying on a war, which the defence of their valuable rights and possessions, together with the preservation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both just and necessary. He enumerated the late successes of the British arms, the reduction of Goree on the coast of Africa, the conquest of so many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city Quebec, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his majesty's officers and forces, the important advantage obtained by the British squadron off Cape Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for so many months the principal part of the French navy in their own harbours; events which must have filled the hearts of all his majesty's faithful subjects with the sincerest joy; and convinced his parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in exerting those means which they, with so much prudence and public-spirited zeal, had put into his majesty's hands. He observed, that the national advantages had extended even as far as the East Indies, where, by the divine blessing, the dangerous designs of his majesty's enemies had miscarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection: That the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impression on the minds of his majesty's people: That if the crisis in which the battle was fought, the superior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his majesty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, were considered, that action must be the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness: That if any thing could fill the breasts of his majesty's good subjects with still further degrees of exultation, it would be the distinguished and unbroken valour of the British troops, owned and applauded by those whom they overcame. He said the glory they had gained was not merely their own, but, in a national view, was one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a striking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend. He told them that his majesty's good brother and ally, the king of Prussia, attacked and surrounded



by so many considerable powers, had, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a surprizing manner, to prevent the mischiefs concerted with such united force against him. He declared, by the command of his sovereign, that as his majesty entered into this war not from views of ambition, so he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment: That the desire of his majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of christian blood: That, whenever such terms of peace could be established as should be just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and by procuring such advantages as, from the successes of his majesty's arms, might in reason and equity be expected, should bring along with them full security for the future, his majesty would rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored on such solid and durable foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his majesty owed so much, happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity; but, in order to this great and desirable end, he said his majesty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour. He assured the commons, that the great supplies they had granted in the last session of parliament had been faithfully employed for the purposes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his majesty's measures, had unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expences. Finally, he repeated the assurances from the throne of the high satisfaction his majesty took in that union and good harmony which was so conspicuous among his good subjects: He said, his sovereign was happy in seeing it continued and confirmed; he observed, that experience had shown how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could secure the true happiness of his people.

Addreses.

We shall not anticipate the reader's own reflection, by pretending to comment upon either the matter or the form of this harangue, which, however, produced all the effect which the sovereign could desire. The houses, in their respective addreses, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of attachment and complacency. The peers professed their utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further measures as his majesty, in his great wisdom, should judge neces-

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sary or expedient for carrying on the war with vigour in all parts, and for disappointing and repelling any desperate attempts which might be made upon these kingdoms. The commons expressed their admiration of that true greatness of mind which disposed his majesty's heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish a stop put to the effusion of christian blood, and to see tranquillity restored. They declared their entire reliance on his majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that this desirable object, whenever it should be obtained, would be upon terms just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and, in order to effect that great end, they assured him they would chearfully grant such supplies as should be found necessary to sustain, and press with effect, all his extensive operations against the enemy. They did not fail to re-echo the speech, as usual, enumerating the trophies of the year, and extolling the king of Prussia for his consummate genius, magnanimity, unwearied activity, and unshaken constancy of mind. Very great reason, indeed, had his majesty to be satisfied with an address of such a nature from a house of commons, in which opposition lay strangled at the foot of the minister; in which those demagogues, who had raised themselves to reputation and renown, by declaiming against continental measures, were become so perfectly reconciled to the object of their former reprobation, as to cultivate it even with a degree of enthusiasm unknown to any former administration, and lay the nation under such contributions in its behalf as no other ministry durst ever meditate. Thus disposed, it was no wonder they admired the moderation of their sovereign, in offering to treat of peace, after above a million of men had perished by the war, and twice that number been reduced to misery; after whole provinces had been depopulated, whole countries subdued, and the victors themselves almost crushed by the trophies they had gained.

Immediately after the addresses were presented, the commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, and having unanimously voted a supply to his majesty, began to take the particulars into consideration. This committee was continued till the 12th of May, when that whole business was accomplished. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty

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thousand pounds. The number of land forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men; and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds and ten pence. For maintaining other forces in the plantations Gibraltar, Guadeloupe, Africa, and the East Indies, they allowed eight hundred forty-six thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds nineteen shillings. For the expence of four regiments on the Irish establishment serving in North America, they voted thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds eight shillings and four pence. For pay to the general and general staff-officers, and officers of the hospital for the land forces, they assigned fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds eleven shillings and nine pence. They voted for the expence of the militia in South and North-Britain the sum of one hundred two thousand and six pounds four shillings and eight pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, retained in the service of Great Britain, the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred eighty-two pounds ten shillings and five pence half-penny; and for nineteen thousand Hessian troops, in the same pay, they gave three hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds one shilling and six pence. They afterwards bestowed the sum of one hundred eight thousand and twelve pounds twelve shillings and seven pence for defraying the additional expence of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hesse, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the hospital at Greenwich; for purchasing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expence incurred by that office in the course of the last year, they allowed seven hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine pounds six shillings and six pence. Towards paying off the navy debt, buildings, re-buildings, and repairs of the king's ships, together with the

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charge of transport service, they granted one million seven hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings and six pence. For defraying the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other services not provided for by parliament, comprehending the pensions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the sum of nine hundred fifty-five thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds fifteen shillings and five pence halfpenny. They voted one million, to empower his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. They gave six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the 9th day of November in the present year. Fifteen thousand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majesty's ordnance to defray the necessary charges and expences of taking down and removing the present magazine for gunpowder, situated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in some less dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave, to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed to the month of November; the sum to be paid as his most serene highness should think it most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred thousand pounds they voted, upon account, as a present supply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, and contingencies of his majesty's combined army under the command of prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling-hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers sums taking from the sinking-fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds nineteen shillings and four pence. For the subsistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the several officers and private men of the two troops of horse-guards and regiment of horse reduced



and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds nine shillings. Upon account, for the support of the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thousand six hundred ninety-four pounds two shillings and two pence. For enabling the king to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North America for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of those respective provinces should be thought by his majesty to merit, they advanced the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. The East India company they gratified with twenty thousand pounds, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thousand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital. For subsequent augmentations of the British forces, since the first estimate of guards and garrisons for the ensuing year was presented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thousand one hundred thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and four pence. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling hospital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice the children admitted into the said charity, the sum of forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the 24th day of December of the ensuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence: And, moreover, they granted fourscore thousand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and clothing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending, on the 25th day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. For reimbursing the colony of New York their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, they allowed two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds seven shillings and eight pence; and, for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, they renewed the grant of ten thousand pounds. For the maintenance and augmenta-

tion of the troops of Brunswick in the pay of Great Britain, for the ensuing year, pursuant to an ulterior convention, concluded and signed at Paderborn, on the 5th day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, they granted the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds eight shillings and eleven pence farthing; and for the troops of Hesse-Cassel, in the same pay, during the same period, they allotted one hundred and one thousand ninety six pounds three shillings and two pence. For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services incurred from the 24th day of November in the present year to the 24th of December following, and not provided for, they granted the sum of four hundred twenty thousand one hundred and twenty pounds one shilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of this present year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, they assigned the sum of seventy five thousand one hundred and seventy pounds three pence farthing. For printing the journals of the house of commons, they gave five thousand pounds; and six hundred thirty-four pounds thirteen shillings and seven pence, as interest, at the rate of four *per centum per annum*, from the 25th day of August in the present year, to the same day of April next, for the sum of twenty-three thousand eight hundred pounds eleven shillings and eleven pence, remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the court of exchequer, as directed by an act made in the last session of parliament, to make compensation for lands and hereditaments purchased for his majesty's service at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, by reason of doubts and difficulties which had arisen touching the execution of the said act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the mint during the present year, they allowed eleven thousand nine hundred and forty pounds thirteen shillings and ten pence; and two thousand five hundred pounds, upon account, for paying the debts claimed and sustained upon a forfeited estate in North Britain. They likewise allowed twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pounds fifteen shillings and ten pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by lieutenant colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, to enable the

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king to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat any enterprize or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. On the whole, the sum total granted in this session of parliament amounted to fifteen millions five hundred three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings and nine pence half-penny; a sum so enormous, whether we consider the nation that raised it, or the purposes for which it was raised, that every Briton of a sedate mind, attached to the interest and welfare of his country, must reflect upon it with equal astonishment and concern; A sum considerably more than double the largest subsidy that was granted in the reign of queen Anne, when the nation was in the zenith of her glory, and retained half the powers of Europe in her pay: A sum almost double of what any former administration durst have asked; and near double of what the most sanguine calculators who lived in the beginning of this century, thought the nation could give, without the most imminent hazard of immediate bankruptcy. Of the immense supply which we have particularized, the reader will perceive, that two millions three hundred forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds sixteen shillings and seven pence three farthings, were paid to foreigners for supporting the war in Germany exclusive of the money expended by the British troops in that country, the number of which amounted, in the course of the ensuing year, to twenty thousand men; a number the more extraordinary, if we consider they were all transported to that continent during the administration of those who declared in parliament, (the words still sounding in our ears), that not a man, nor even half a man, should be sent from Great Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign elector. Into the expence of the German war sustained by Great Britain, we must also throw the charge of transporting the English troops, the article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand pounds, besides pontage, waggons, horses, and many other contingencies. To the German war we may also impute the extraordinary expence incurred by the actual service of the militia, which the absence of the regular troops rendered in a great measure necessary; and the loss of so

many hands withdrawn from industry, from husbandry and manufacture. The loss sustained by this connection was equally grievous and apparent: The advantage accruing from it, either to Britain or Hanover, we have not discernment sufficient to perceive, consequently cannot be supposed able to explain.

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The committee of ways and means, having duly deliberated on the articles of supply, continued sitting from the 22d day of November to the 14th of May, during which period, they established the necessary funds to produce the sums which had been granted. The land tax at four shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great Britain. The sum of eight millions was resolved to be raised by transferable annuities, after the rate of four *per cent.* and by a lottery: Additional stamp-duties on vellum, parchment, and paper, were imposed; and likewise a new duty on spirits. The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds nine shillings and eight pence, exceeding the grants for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred and twenty-six thousand nine hundred ninety-seven pounds thirteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider, that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session. That these gigantic strides towards the ruin of public credit were such as might alarm every well wisher to his country will perhaps more plainly appear in the sum total of the national debt, which including the incumbrance of one million charged upon the civil list revenue, and provided for by a tax upon salaries and pensions payable out of that revenue, amounted, at this period, to the tremendous sum of one hundred and eight millions four hundred ninety-three thousand one hundred fifty-four pounds fourteen shillings and eleven pence one farthing. A comfortable reflection this to a people involved in the most expensive war that ever was waged, and already burthened with such taxes as no other nation ever bore.

Ways and
means.

It is not at all necessary to particularise the acts that were founded upon the resolutions touching the supply.

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We shall only observe, that in the act for the land tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clause of credit, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to raise the money which they produced by loans on exchequer bills, bearing an interest of four *per cent. per annum*, that is, one *per cent.* higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the house of commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the maltsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent, against an additional duty on the stock of malt in hand : But no regard was paid to this remonstrance ; and the bill, with several new amendments, passed through both houses, under the title of “ An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said duties ; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt ; and for making forth duplicates of exchequer-bills, tickets certificates, receipts, annuity orders and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed.” The other three bills that turned wholly on the supply were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either house, and received the royal assent by commission, at the end of the session. The first of these, entitled, “ A bill for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned,” contained a clause of appropriation, added to it by instruction ; and the bank was enabled to lend the million which the commissioners of the treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds *per cent.* The second, granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted ; and another clause, empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of interest ; and the third, enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the exchequer bills thereby to be issued should not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the exchequer, before the 26th day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

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Petitions
for and a-
gainst the
distillery.

As the act of the preceding session prohibiting the malt-distillery, was to expire at Chistmas, the commons thinking it necessary to consider of proper methods for laying the malt distillery under such regulations as might prevent, if possible, its being prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, began as early as the month of November, to deliberate on this affair; which being under agitation, petitions were presented to the house by several of the principal inhabitants of Spitalfields; the mayor and commonalty of New Sarum; the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Colchester; the mayor, aldermen, and common council of King's Lynn in Norfolk; the mayor and bailiffs of Berwick upon Tweed; representing the advantage accruing from the prohibition of the malt distillery, and praying the continuance of the act by which it was prohibited. On the other hand, counter-petitions were offered by the mayor, magistrates, and other gentlemen of the city of Norwich; by the land owners and holders of the south-west parts of Essex; and by the freeholders of the shires of Ross and Cromarty, in North Britain; alledging, that the scarcity of corn, which had made it necessary to prohibit the malt-distillery, had ceased; and that the continuing the prohibition beyond the necessity which had required it would be a great loss and discouragement to the landed interest; they, therefore, prayed, that the said distillery might be again opened, under such regulations and restrictions as the house should think proper. These remonstrances being taken into consideration, and divers accounts perused, the house unanimously agreed that the prohibition should be continued for a limited time; and a bill being brought in, pursuant to this resolution, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent; by which means the prohibition of the malt-distillery was continued till the 24th day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, unless such continuation should be abridged by any other act to be passed in the present session.

The committee, having examined a great number of accounts and papers relating to spirituous liquors, agreed to four resolutions, importing, that the present high price of spirituous liquors is a principal cause of the diminution in the home consumption thereof, and hath greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people: That in order to con-

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tinue for the future the present high price of all spirits used for home-consumption, a large additional duty should be laid upon all spirituous liquors whatsoever distilled within or imported into Great Britain : That there should be a drawback of the said additional duties upon all spirituous liquors distilled in Great Britain, which should be exported ; and that an additional bounty should be granted, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of all spirituous liquors drawn from corn in Great Britain. A great many accounts being perused, and witnesses examined, relating to the distillery, a bill was brought in, to prevent the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying an additional duty thereupon ; and to encourage the exportation of British made spirits. Considerable opposition was made to the bill, on the opinion that the additional duty proposed was too small ; and that, among the resolutions, there was not so much as one that looked like a provision or restriction for preventing the pernicious abuse of such liquors. Nay, many persons affirmed, that what was proposed looked more like a scheme for increasing the public revenues, than a salutary measure to prevent excess. The merchants and manufacturers of the town of Birmingham petitioned for such restrictions. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, presented a petition by the hands of the two sheriffs, setting forth, that the petitioners had, with great pleasure, observed the happy consequences produced upon the morals, behaviour, industry, and health of the lower class of people, since the prohibition of the malt distillery : That the petitioners, having observed a bill was brought in to allow the distilling of spirits from corn, were apprehensive that the encouragement given to the distillers thereof would prove detrimental to the commercial interests of the nation ; and they conceived the advantages proposed to be allowed upon the exportation of such spirits, being so much above the value of the commodity, would lay such a temptation for smuggling and perjury as no law could prevent. They expressed their fears, that, should such a bill pass into a law, the excessive use of spirituous liquors would not only debilitate and enervate the labourers, manufacturers, sailors, soldiers, and all the lower class of people, and thereby extinguish industry, and that remarkable intrepidity which had lately so eminently appeared in the British nation, which must always depend on the vigour and industry of its people ; but also its liberty

and happiness, which cannot be supported without temperance and morality, would run the utmost risque of being destroyed. They declared themselves also apprehensive, that the extraordinary consumption of bread corn by the still, would not only raise the price, so as to oppress the lower class of people; but would raise such a bar to the exportation thereof, as to deprive the nation of a great influx of money, at that time essential towards the maintaining of an expensive war, and therefore highly injure the landed and commercial interest: They, therefore, prayed, that the present prohibition of distilling spirits from corn might be continued, or that the use of wheat might not be allowed in distillation.

This remonstrance was corroborated by another to the same purpose, from several merchants, manufacturers, and traders residing in and near the city of London; and seemed to have some weight with the commons, who made several amendments in the bill, which they now entitled, "A bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon: For shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat: For encouraging the exportation of British-made spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof." Thus altered and amended, it passed on a division; and, making its way through the house of lords, acquired the royal sanction. Whether the law be adequate to the purposes for which it was enacted time will determine. The best way of preventing the excess of spirituous liquors, would be to lower the excise on beer and ale, so as to enable the poorer class of labourers to refresh themselves with a comfortable liquor for nearly the same expence that will procure a quantity of geneva sufficient for intoxication; for it cannot be supposed that a poor wretch will expend his last penny upon a draught of small beer, without strength, or the least satisfactory operation, when for the half of that sum he can purchase cordial, that will almost instantaneously allay the sense of hunger and cold, and regale his imagination with the most agreeable illusions. Malt was now sold cheaper than it was in the first year of king James I. when the parliament enacted, That no inn-keeper, victualler, or alehouse-keeper should sell less than a full quart of the best ale or beer, or two quarts of the small, for one penny, under the penalty of twenty shillings. It appears, then, that in the reign of James, the subject paid but four pence for a gallon of strong

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beer, which now costs a shilling; and as the malt is not increased in value, the difference in the price must be entirely owing to the taxes on beer, malt, and hops, which are indeed very grievous, though perhaps necessary. The duty on small beer is certainly one of the heaviest taxes imposed upon any sort of consumption that cannot be considered as an article of luxury. Two bushels of malt, and two pounds of hops, are required to make a barrel of good small beer, which was formerly sold for six shillings; and the taxes payable on such a barrel amounted to three shilling and six-pence; so that the sum total of the imposition on this commodity was equal to a land-tax of eleven shillings and eight pence in the pound.

Bill for im-
porting Ir-
ish beef.

Immediately after the resolution relating to the prohibition of spirits from wheat, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill to continue, for a time, limited, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly extended to the 24th day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. In all probability this short and temporary continuance was proposed by the favourers of the bill, in order to avoid the clamour and opposition of prejudice and ignorance, which would have been dangerously alarmed, had it been rendered perpetual. Yet, as undoubted evidence had proved before the committee, while the bill was depending, that the importation had been of great service to England, particularly in reducing the price of salted beef for the use of the navy, perhaps no consideration ought to have prevented the legislature from perpetuating the law; a measure that would encourage the graziers of Ireland to breed and fatten horned cattle, and certainly put a stop to the^m practice of exporting salted beef from that kingdom to France, which undoubtedly furnishes the traders of that kingdom with opportunities of exporting wool to the same country.

Militia.

As several lieutenants of counties had, for various reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times, which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in, to enable his majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments. It was enacted, That, as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this

junction to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened, should, within one month after the passing of this act, proceed as if there had been no such suspension; and summon a meeting for the same purpose once in every succeeding month, until a sufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to serve, should be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering the militia forces.

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The establishment of a regular militia in South Britain could not fail to make an impression upon the patriots of Scotland. They were convinced, from reason and experience, that nothing could more tend to the peace and security of their country than such an establishment in North Britain, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly exposed to insurrections, which a well-regulated militia might have prevented, or stifled in the birth; and their coast had been lately alarmed by a threatened invasion, which nothing but the want of such an establishment had rendered formidable to the natives. They thought themselves entitled to the same security which the legislature had provided for their fellow-subjects in South Britain, and could not help being uneasy at the prospect of seeing themselves left unarmed, and exposed to injuries both foreign and domestic, while the sword was put into the hands of their southern neighbours. Some of the members who represented North Britain in parliament, moved by these considerations, as well as by the earnest injunctions of their constituents, resolved to make a vigorous effort, in order to obtain the establishment of a regular militia in Scotland. In the beginning of March, it was moved, and resolved, that the house would, on the 12th day of the month, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the laws in being which relate to the militia in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. The result of that enquiry was, that these laws were ineffectual. Then a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in North Britain, and though it met with great opposition, was carried by a large majority. The principal Scottish members of the house were appointed, in conjunction with others, to prepare the bill, which was soon printed, and reinforced by petitions presented by the gentlemen, justices of the peace, and commissioners of supply for the shire of Ayr; and by the freeholders of the shires of Edin-

Attempt
for a mili-
tia in North
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burgh, Stirling, Perth, and Forfar. They expressed their approbation of the established militia in England, and their ardent wish to see the benefit of that wise and salutary measure extended to North Britain. This was an indulgence they had the greater reason to hope for, as by the articles of the union they were undoubtedly entitled to be on the same footing with their brethren of England, and as the legislature must now be convinced of the necessity of some such measure, by the consternation lately produced in their defenceless country, from the threatened invasion of a handful of French freebooters. These remonstrances had no weight with the majority in the house of commons, who, either unable or unwilling to make proper distinctions between the ill and well-affected subjects of North Britain, rejected the bill, as a very dangerous experiment in favour of a people among whom so many rebellions had been generated and produced. When the motion was made for the bill's being committed, a warm debate ensued, in the course of which many Scottish members spoke in behalf of their country with great force of argument, and a very laudable spirit of freedom. Mr. Elliot, in particular, one of the commissioners of the board of admiralty, distinguished himself by a noble flow of eloquence adorned with all the graces of oratory, and warmed with the true spirit of patriotism. Mr. Oswald, of the treasury, acquitted himself with great honour on the occasion; ever nervous, steady, and sagacious, independent though in office, and invariable in pursuing the true interest of his country. It must be owned, for the honour of North Britain, that all her representatives, except two, warmly contended for this national measure, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and six, though the bill was exactly modelled by the late act of parliament for the establishment of the militia in England.

Even this institution, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties, that every session of parliament since it was first established has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April, leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, continuing, and better regulating, the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of parliament for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia-men embodied, and ordered out into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia,

New acts
respecting
the militia
of South
Britain.

and lessening the number of officers entitled to pay within that part of Great Britain called England. While this bill was under consideration, the house received a petition from the mayor, alderman, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, representing, That, by an act passed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia-men should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of the parish where such families reside should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace, which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county-stock. They alleged, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were nevertheless supported by the county-stock of the city and county of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed, that if it should pass into a law they might have such relief in the premises as to the house should seem meet. Regard was had to this petition in the amendments to the bill*, which passed through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission. During the dependence

* By this law it was enacted, That if any militia-man who shall have been accepted and enrolled as a substitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the passing of the act, shall, when embodied, or called out into actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, the overseers shall, by order of some one justice of the peace, pay, out of the poor's rates of such parish, a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and husbandry there; viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforesaid, the price of two days labour; for three or four children under the age aforesaid, the price of three days labour; for five or more children under the age aforesaid, the price of four days labour; and for the wife of such militia-man the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be chosen by lot, and of the substitutes, hired men and volunteers, already accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, That where treasurers shall reimburse to overseers any money, in pursuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia-man serving in the militia of any county or place, other than that wherein such family shall dwell, they are to transmit an account thereof, signed by some justice for the place where such family shall dwell, to the treasurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof such militia-man shall serve, who is thereupon to pay him the sums so reimbursed to such overseers, and the same to be allowed in his accounts.

of this bill, another was brought in, to explain so much of the militia act passed in the thirty-first year of his majesty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea, which, by the former act, was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall afterwards be enrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service; that no man should be entitled to his clothes for his own use until he should have served three years, if unembodied, or one year if embodied after the delivery of the clothes; and that the full pay of the militia should commence from the date of his majesty's warrant for drawing them out. The difficulties which these successive regulations were made to obviate, will be amply recompensed by the good effects of a national militia, provided it be employed in a national way, and for national purposes: But if the militia are embodied, and the different regiments that compose it are marched from the respective counties to which they belong; if the men are detained for any length of time in actual service, at a distance from their families, when they might be employed at home in works of industry, for the support of their natural dependents, the militia becomes no other than an addition to, or augmentation of a standing army, enlisted for the term of three years. The labour of the men is lost to the community; they contract the idle habits and dissolute manners of the other troops; their families are left as incumbrances on the community, and the charge of their subsistence is, at least, as heavy as that of maintaining an equal number of regular forces.

Reflections.

It would not, we apprehend, be very easy to account for the government's ordering the regiments of militia to march from their respective counties, and to do duty for a considerable length of time at a great distance from their own homes, unless we suppose this measure was taken to create in the people a disgust to the institution of the militia, which was an establishment extorted from the sovereign by the voice of the nation. We may add, that some of the inconveniencies attending a militia will never be totally removed, while the persons drawn by lot for that service are at liberty to hire substitutes; for it cannot be supposed, that men of substance will incur the danger, fatigue, and damage of serving in person, while they can hire, among the

lowest class of people, mercenaries of desperate fortune and abandoned morals, who will greedily seize the opportunity of being paid for renouncing that labour by which they were before obliged to maintain themselves and their family connections. It would, therefore, deserve the consideration of the legislature, whether the privilege of hiring substitutes should not be limited to certain classes of men, who are either raised by their rank in life above the necessity of serving in person, or engaged in such occupations as cannot be intermitted without prejudice to the commonwealth. It must be allowed, that the regulation in this new act, by which the families of substitutes are deprived of any relief from the parish, will not only diminish the burden of the poor's rates; but also, by raising the price of mercenaries, oblige a greater number of the better sort to serve in person. Without all doubt, the fewer substitutes that are employed, the more dependence may be placed upon our militia in the preservation of our rights and privileges, and the more will the number of the disciplined men be increased, because, at the expiration of every three years, the lot-men must be changed and new militia men chosen; but the substitutes will, in all probability, continue for life in the service, provided they can find lot-men to hire them at every rotation. The reader will forgive our being so circumstantial upon the regulations of an institution which we cannot help regarding with a kind of enthusiastic affection.

In the latter end of November, the house of commons received a petition from several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of East-Greenwich, and places adjacent, in Kent, representing, that in the said parish, within a quarter of a mile of the town distinguished by a royal palace, and royal hospital for seamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels: That, besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the said magazine stood in an open field, unenclosed by any fortification or defence whatsoever, consequently exposed to treachery and every other accident. They alledged, that if, through treachery, lightening, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the king's yards and stores at Deptford Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at an-

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chor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. They, moreover, observed that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation: That in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire and produce the dreadful calamities above recited: They, therefore, prayed, that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences. The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands, and erecting a powder magazine at Purfleet, in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. While the report of the committee lay upon the table for the perusal of the members, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house, that the king, having been informed of the subject matter of the petition, recommended it to the consideration of the commons. Leave was immediately given to prepare a bill, founded on the resolutions of the committee; which, having been duly considered, altered, and amended, passed through both houses to the foot of the throne, where it obtained the royal sanction. The magazine was accordingly removed to Purfleet, an inconsiderable and solitary village, where there will be little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an explosion: But, in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small and distinct apartments, totally independent of each other, that, in case one should be accidentally blown up, the rest might stand unaffected. The same plan ought to be adopted in the construction of all combustible stores subject to conflagration. The marine bill, and mutiny bill, as annual regulations, were prepared in the usual form, passed both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent.

Improving
London
Streets.

The next affair that engrossed the deliberation of the commons was a measure relating to the internal economy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London delivered a petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, in common-council assembled, representing, That several streets, lanes, and passages within the city

of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious for the passing and repassing as well of foot passengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alledged, that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for these purposes. They took notice, that there were several houses within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the several floors or apartments belonging to different persons; so that difficulties and disputes frequently arose amongst the said several owners and proprietors about pulling down or rebuilding the party-walls and premises: That such rebuilding was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of those owners who were desirous to rebuild: That it would, therefore, be of public benefit, and frequently prevent the spreading of the fatal effects of fire, if some provision were made by law, as well for determining such disputes in a summary way as for explaining and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They, therefore, prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the several streets, lanes and passages, and to open new streets and ways to be therein limited and described; as well as for determining, in a summary way, all disputes arising about the rebuilding of houses or tenements within the said city and liberties, wherein several persons have an intermixed property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to these particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition, agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to prepare a bill and this was brought in accordingly. Next day, a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new-laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of

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ket in Lon-
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water-works; and praying that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage that should be done to the pavement by the leaking or bursting of the waterpipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and was enacted into a law, under the title of "An act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; and for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned *."

The inhabitants of Westminster had long laboured under the want of a fish-market, and complained that the price of this species of provision was kept up at an exorbitant rate by the fraudulent combination of a few dealers, who engrossed the wole market at Billingsgate, and destroyed great quantities of fish, in order to enhance the value of those that remained. An act of parliament had passed in the twenty-second year of his present majesty's reign, for establishing a free market for the sale of fish in Westminster; and, seven years after that period, was found necessary to procure a second, for explaining and amending the first; but neither effectually answered the purposes of the legislature. In the month of January of the present session, the house took into consideration a petition of the several fishermen trading to Billingsgate-market, representing the hard-

* The openings to be made, and the passages to be improved and enlarged, were ascertained by two schedules annexed to the act. With respect to the houses, buildings, and grounds to be purchased, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, in common council assembled, or a committee appointed by them, were empowered to fix the price by agreement with the respective proprietors, or otherwise by a jury, in the usual manner. With regard to party-walls, the act ordains, that the proprietor of either adjoining house may compel the proprietor of the other to agree to its being pulled down and rebuilt, and to pay a moiety of the expence, even though it should not be necessary to pull down or rebuild either of their houses: That all party-walls shall be at least two bricks and a half in thickness in cellar, and two bricks thick upwards, to the top of the garret-floor. It enacts, that if any decayed house belongs to several proprietors, any one of them, who is desirous to rebuild, may oblige the others to concur, and join with him in the expence, or purchase their shares at a price to be fixed by a jury. If any house should hereafter be presented by any inquest, or grand jury, in London, as being in a ruinous condition, the court of mayor and aldermen is, by this act, empowered to pull it down at the expence of the ground landlord. As to damaged pavements, not sufficiently repaired by the proprietors of the water-works, any justice of the peace in London is vested with power, upon their refusing or delaying to make it good, to cause it to be effectually relayed with good materials at their expence.

ships to which they were exposed by the said acts; particularly forfeitures of vessels and cargoes, incurred by the negligence of servants, who had omitted to make the particular entries which the two acts prescribed. This petition being examined by a committee, and the report being made, leave was given to bring in a new bill, which should contain effectual provision for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, and for preventing the abuses of the fishmongers. It was entitled, "A bill to repeal so much of an act passed in the twenty-ninth of George II. concerning a free market for fish at Westminster, as requires fishermen to enter their fishing-vessels at the office of the searcher of the customs at Gravesend, and to regulate the sale of fish at the first hand in the fish-markets in London and Westminster; and to prevent salesmen of fish buying fish to sell again on their own account; and to allow bret and turbot, brill and pearl, although under the respective dimensions mentioned in a former act, to be imported and sold; and to punish persons who shall take or sell any spawn, brood, or fish of fry, unsizeable fish, or fish out of season, or smelts under the size of five inches, and for other purposes." Though this and the former bill, relating to the streets and houses of London, are instances that evince the care and attention of the legislature even to minute particulars of the internal œconomy of the kingdom, we can hardly consider them as objects of such dignity and importance as to demand the deliberations of the parliament, but think they naturally fall within the cognizance of the municipal magistracy. After all perhaps the most effectual method for supplying Westminster with plenty of fish at reasonable rates, would be to execute with rigour the laws already enacted against forestalling and regrating; an expedient that would soon dissolve all monopolies and combinations among the traders; to increase the number of markets, in London and Westminster; and to establish two general markets at the Nore one on each side of the river, where the fishing-vessels might unload their cargoes, and return to sea without delay. A number of light boats might be employed to convey fresh fish from these marts to London and Westminster where all the different fish-markets might be plentifully supplied at a reasonable expence; for it cannot be supposed, that while the fresh fish are brought up the river in the fishing smacks themselves, which can hard-

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Temporary
acts conti-
nued.

ly save their tides to Billingsgate, they will ever dream of carrying their cargoes above bridge; or that the price of fish can be considerably lowered, while the fishing vessels lose so much time in running up to Gravesend or Billingsgate.

The annual committee being appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, agreed to certain resolutions; upon which a bill was prepared, and obtained the royal assent, importing a continuation of several laws, namely, the several clauses mentioned of the acts in the fifth and eighth of George I. against the clandestine of uncustomed goods, except the clauses relating to quarantine; the act passed in the third of George II. relating to the carrying rice from Carolina; the act in the seventh of the same reign, relating to cochineal and indigo; and that of the twelfth of George II. so far as it related to the importation of printed books. There was also a law enacted to continue to the 29th day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, an act passed in the twelfth year of queen Anne, for encouraging the making of sail-cloth, by a duty of one penny per ell laid upon all foreign made sails and sail-cloth imported, and a bounty in the same proportion granted upon all home-made sail-cloth and canvas fit for or made into sails, and exported; another act was passed for continuing certain laws relating to the additional number of one hundred hackney coaches and chairs, which law was rendered perpetual.

New act
ascertaining
the quali-
fications of
members of
parliament.

The next law we shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legislature: It was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, it was provided, that no person should be chosen member of parliament, who did not possess in England or Wales, an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: For every knight of a shire, six hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will satisfy all incumbrances; and three hundred pounds per annum, for every citizen, burgher, and baron of the cinque-port. It was also decreed, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate, should at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or by two or

more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed to establish his qualifications. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had been prescribed since the revolution, that they began to lose the effect they were intended to have on the minds of men; and, in particular, political perjury grew so common, that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which, this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Those who were not actually possessed of such estates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scandalous fraud, the intention of the legislature was frustrated; the dignity of parliament prostituted; the example of perjury and corruption extended, and the vengeance of heaven set at defiance.

Through this infamous channel, the ministry had it in their power to thrust into parliament a set of venal beggars, who, as they depended upon their bounty, would always be obsequious to their will, and vote according to direction, without the least regard to the dictates of their conscience, or to the advantage of their country. The mischiefs attending such a vile collusion, and in particular the undue influence which the crown must have acquired from the practice, were either felt or apprehended by some honest patriots, who, after divers unsuccessful efforts, at length presented to the house a bill, importing, that every person who shall be elected a member of the house of commons, should, before he presumed to take his seat, deliver to the clerk of the house at the table, while the commons are sitting, and the speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tythe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tythes, then specifying in whose occupation they are; and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing, and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct, and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall, at the same time, also take and subscribe

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the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: "I A. B. do swear, that the above is a true rental: And that I truly, and *bona fide*, have such an estate in law or equity, to and for my own use and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments above described, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same; and that such estate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudulently, on purpose to qualify me to be a member of this house. So help me God."

It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the house of commons, without fee or reward: That if any person elected to serve in any future parliament should presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons before he had delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, or should not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum, to be recovered by such person as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no essoin, privilege, protection, or wager of law should be allowed, and only one imparlance: That if any person should have delivered in, and sworn to, his qualification as aforesaid, and taken his seat in the house of commons, yet at any time after should, during the continuance of such parliament, sell, dispose of, alien, or any otherwise incumber the estate, or any part thereof comprised in the schedule, so as to lessen or reduce the same under the value of the qualification by law directed; every such person, under a certain penalty, must deliver in a new, or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and swear to the same, in manner before directed, before he shall again presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons; that in case any action, suit, or information should be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the house of commons, the clerk of the house shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule so delivered in to him as aforesaid, by such member to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which being proved a true copy,

shall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any issue in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of the shire, or to the members for either of the universities in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

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Such was the substance of the bill, as originally presented to the house of commons ; but it was altered in such a manner, as, we are afraid, will fail in answering the salutary purposes for which it was intended by those who brought it into the house. Notwithstanding the provisions made in the act as it now stands, any minister or patron may still introduce his pensioners, clerks, and creatures into the house, by means of the old method of temporary conveyance, though the farce must now be kept up until the member shall have delivered in his schedule, taken his oath, and his seat in parliament ; then he may deliver up the conveyance, or execute a re-conveyance, without running any risk of losing his seat, or of being punished for his fraud and perjury.

The extensive influence of the crown, the general corruptibility of individuals, and the obstacles so industriously thrown in the way of every scheme contrived to vindicate the independency of parliaments, must have produced very mortifying reflections in the breast of every Briton warmed with the genuine love of his country. He must have perceived, that all the bulwarks of the constitution were little better than buttresses of ice, which would infallibly thaw before the heat of ministerial influence, when artfully concentrated : That either a minister's professions of patriotism grew insincere, or his credit insufficient to effect an essential alteration in the unpopular measures of government ; and that, after all, the liberties of the nation could never be so firmly established, as by the power, generosity, and virtue of a patriot king. This inference could not fail to awake the remembrance of that amiable prince, whom fate untimely snatched from the eager hopes and warm affection of a whole nation, before he had it in his power to manifest and establish his favourite maxim, That a monarch's glo-

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ry was inseparably connected with the happiness of his people*.

1700.

* The following declaration, made to the chiefs of the opposition will render the memory of the late prince of Wales dear to latest posterity :

His royal highness has authorised lord T. and Sir F. D. to give the most positive assurances to the gentlemen in the opposition of his upright intentions ; that he is thoroughly convinced of the distresses and calamities that have befallen, and every day are more likely to befall, this country ; and therefore invite all well-wishers to this country and its constitution to coalesce and unite with him, and upon the following principle only :

His royal highness promises, and will declare it openly, that it is his intention totally to abolish any distinctions for the future of parties ; and, as far as lies in his power, and as soon as it does lie in his power, to take away forever all proscription from any set of men whatever, who are friends to the constitution ; and, therefore, will promote for the present, and, when it is in his power, will immediately grant,

First, A bill to empower all gentlemen to act as justices of peace paying land tax for 300*l.* *per annum*, in any country where he intends to serve.

Secondly, His royal highness promises, in like manner, to support, and forthwith grant, whenever he shall have it in his power, a bill to create and establish a numerous and effectual militia throughout the kingdom.

Thirdly, his royal highness promises, in like manner, to promote and support, and likewise grant, when it is in his power, a bill to exclude all military offices in the land-service, under the degree of colonels of regiments, and in the sea-service, under the degree of rear-admirals, from sitting in the house of commons.

Fourthly, his royal highness promises that he will, when in his power, grant enquiries into the great number of abuses in offices, and does not doubt of the assistance of all honest men, to enable him to correct the same for the future.

Fifthly, his royal highness promises, and will openly declare, that he will make no agreement with, or join in the support of any administration whatever, without previously obtaining the above-mentioned points in behalf of the people, and for the sake of good government. Upon these conditions, and these conditions only, his royal highness thinks he has a right not to doubt of having a most cordial support from all those good men who mean their country and this constitution well, and that they will become his and his family's friends, and unite with him to promote the good government of this country and that they will follow him, upon these principles, both in court and out of court, and if he should live to form an administration, it shall be composed, without distinction, of men of dignity, knowledge, and probity. His royal highness further promises to accept of no more, if offered to him, than 800*l.* *per* *annum* for his civil list, by way of rent-charge.

Answer to the foregoing proposal.

The lords and gentlemen to whom a paper has been communicated, containing his royal highness the prince's gracious intentions upon several weighty and important points, of the greatest consequence to the honour and interest of his majesty's government, and absolutely necessary for the restoring and perpetuating the true use and design of parliament, the purity of our excellent constitution, and the happiness and welfare of the whole nation, do therein, with the greatest satisfaction, of serve, and most gratefully acknowledge, the uprightness and generosity of his royal highness's noble sentiments and resolutions : And, therefore, beg leave to return their most dutiful and humble thanks for the same, and to assure his royal highness that they will constantly and steadily use their utmost endeavours to support those his wise and salutary purposes, that the throne may be strengthened, religion and morality encouraged, faction and corruption destroyed, the purity and essence of parliament restored, and the happiness and welfare of our constitution preserved.

On the 1st day of February, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill for enabling his majesty to make leases and copies of offices, lands, and hereditaments, parcel of his duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same. Accordingly, it passed through both houses without opposition, and enacted, that all leases and grants made, or to be made, by his majesty, within seven years next ensuing, in, or annexed to the said duchy, under the limitations therein mentioned, should be good and effectual in law against his majesty, his heirs and successors, and against all other persons that should hereafter inherit the said duchy, either by act of parliament, or any limitation whatsoever. This act appears the more extraordinary, as the prince of Wales, who has a sort of right by prescription to the duchy of Cornwall, was then of age, and might have been put in possession of it by the passing of a patent.

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Leases in
Cornwall.

The legislature did not refuse their attention even to the most humble articles of national œconomy. In the beginning of February, a petition was presented to the house, by the inhabitants of the counties of Pembroke Cardigan, and Merioneth, alledging, That lime being the chief manure for land in these counties, without, which it would not produce any tolerable crops of corn, the culm used in burning it, as well as the limestone, was brought from Milford-haven, and the lower parts of the county of Pembroke, by water, to the upper parts of that county, and also to Cardiganshire and Merionethshire, where there were no limestones, nor veins of culm and coal: That the petitioners were greatly aggrieved, by being obliged to pay the duty on such culm; and by other great difficulties and expences to which they were subjected in procuring culm for the aforementioned purpose. They pointed out the good consequences that would arise from the indulgence of the house, should it grant them relief in this particular, of which they expressed their hope accordingly. The commons having perused a number of accounts relating to the exportation of culm from Milford-haven, and the duties paid on this article, ordered a bill to be brought in for rendering the exportation of culm from Milford-haven, and the limits thereof, more easy to the

Exportation
of culm
from Mil-
ford-haven.

When the above answer was returned to the prince, there were present,
The duke of B.—the earl of L.—the earl of T.—the earl of W.—the earl of S.—Lord F.—Lord W.—Sir Wat. Wil. Wynd.—Sir John H. C.—Sir Walter B.—Sir Robert G.—Mr. F. Mr. P.—Mr. C.

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proprietors and purchasers, and for the better securing the duties payable thereon. By this new law it was enacted, that if any person should have occasion to carry culm for the burning of lime, in any vessel not exceeding thirty tons, from any place within the limits of Milford-haven, to any other place within the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cardigan, or Merioneth, the collector, or his deputy, should, upon application from the master of the vessel, grant him a sufferance, mentioning the quantity of culm to be shipped: That the officer to whom the sufferance was directed should attend the shipping thereof, and certify on the back of the sufferance the quantity shipped: That, upon paying the duty of one shilling per chaldron, the collector, or his deputy, should grant a certificate, specifying the quantity shipped, and that the duties had been duly paid; which certificate should be a sufficient let-pass, or clearance of such vessel, to any place within the counties aforesaid; and that no officer should demand or take any other fee, either upon account of granting the said sufferance or certificate, or other pretence whatsoever relating to the loading or sailing of such vessel. It was also enacted, That the master, on his return, should make oath before the collector, or his deputy, where and when he landed his former cargo, before being permitted to ship any new cargo or quantity of culm; with a penalty for preventing fraud, and provision for shipping a like cargo, duty-free, in case the former should have been lost. Thus, a grievance, which had remained above sixty years, was at length redressed; and pity it is, that the circumstances of the nation will not permit the whole duty on coal and culm to be entirely removed, as it falls so heavy on manufactures, as well as upon people in the middle and lower class of life, who live in a climate which requires the use of fire and fuel for seven or eight months in the year.

The house having perused an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, with the charge on that fund on the 5th day of January, in the succeeding year, it appeared there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the 5th day of July preceding, and this had been made good out of the sinking-fund, by a resolution of the 7th of February, already particularised.

They, therefore, instructed the committee of ways and means, to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act, passed in the preceding session, as related to the three per centum annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and also to consider so much of the said act as related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate. The committee having taken these points into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned with respect to the consolidation, and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, to the joint stock of three per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second years of his majesty's reign; and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking-fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to receive a clause, for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth, in pursuance of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of: A clause for this purpose was accordingly added to the bill, which passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session.

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Consolidation of annuities of
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On the 29th day of April, lord North presented to the house, a bill for encouraging the exportation of rum and spirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the British sugar plantations from Great Britain, and of British spirits made from molasses; a bill which in a little time acquired the sanction of the royal assent.

Exportation of rum and spirits.

Towards the end of April, admiral Townshend presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich-hospital by an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his majesty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty money, and many agents had neglected to specify in the notification given in the London gazette for payment of shares of prizes condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time

Greenwich Hospital.

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when the hospital at Greenwich became entitled to the unclaimed shares, of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act: The bill now prepared imported, that from and after the first day of September, in the present year, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken by any of his majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great Britain, and from and after the first day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the British plantations in America; and from and after the 25th day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner: If the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great Britain, such notification under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London gazette; and if condemned in any court of admiralty in any other of his majesty's dominions, such notification shall be published in like manner in the gazette, or other newspaper of public authority, of the island or place where the prize is condemned; and if there shall be no gazette, or such newspaper published there, then in some or one of the public newspapers of the place; and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy, and if there shall be no such officer, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officer, two of the gazettes or other newspapers in which such notifications are inserted; and if there shall not be any public newspapers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing, under his hand; and every such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said gazettes, newspapers, or written notifications, and, by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy treasurers of the said royal hospital one of the said notifications, with his name so subscribed, to be there registered, and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name thereon subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification as aforesaid, the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the precise day of the month and year appoint-

ed for the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great Britain shall be published in the London gazette, three days at least before any share of such prize shall be paid; and with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be delivered to the said collector, or other officers as aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid. It was likewise enacted, that the agents for the distribution of bounty bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London gazette, three days at least before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode.—The bill, even as it now stands, is liable to several objections. It may be dangerous to leave the money of the unclaimed shares so long as three years in the hands of the agent, who, together with his securities, may prove insolvent before the expiration of that term: Then the time prescribed to the sailors within which their claim is limited appears to be too short, when we consider that they may be so circumstanced, turned over to another ship, and conveyed to a distant part of the globe, that they shall have no opportunity to claim payment; and should three years elapse before they could make application to the agent, they would find their bounty or prize money appropriated to the use of Greenwich-hospital; nay, should they die in the course of the voyage, it would be lost to their heirs and executors, who, being ignorant of their title, could not possibly claim within the time limited.

A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, they prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and presented them to the house: Then they were locked up by the clerk of the house; and lord Carysfort presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established: But this measure, which had been so long in dependence, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weight were reserved to another occasion.

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Weights
and mea-
sures.

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High trea-
son in Scot-
land.

A law was made for reviving and continuing so much of an act passed in the 21st year of his majesty's reign as relates to the more effectual trial and punishment of high-treason in the Highlands of Scotland; and also for continuing two other acts passed in the 19th and 21st years of his majesty's reign, so far as they relate to the more effectual disarming the Highlands of Scotland, and securing the peace thereof; and to allow further time for making affidavits of the execution of articles or contracts of clerks to attornies or solicitors, and filing thereof.

George
Keith earl
marischal.

The king having been pleased to pardon George Keith, earl marischal of Scotland, who had been attainted for rebellion in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, the parliament confirmed this indulgence, by passing an act to enable the said George Keith, late earl marischal, to sue or entertain any action of suit, notwithstanding his attainder, and to remove any disability in him, by reason of the said attainder, to take or inherit any real or personal estate that may and shall hereafter descend or come to him, or which he was entitled to in reversion or remainder before his attainder. This nobleman, universally respected for his probity and understanding, had been employed as ambassador to the court of France by the king of Prussia, and was actually at this juncture in the service of that monarch, who, in all probability, interceded with the king of England in his behalf. When his pardon had passed the seals, he repaired to London, and was presented to his majesty by whom he was very graciously received.

Session closed.

These, and a good number of other bills of less importance, both private and public, were passed into laws by commission, on the 22d day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great seal closed the session with a speech to both houses. He began with an assurance that his majesty looked back on their proceedings with entire satisfaction. He said, the duty and affection which they had expressed for the king's person and government, the zeal and unanimity they had showed in maintaining the true interest of their country, could only be equalled by what his majesty had formerly experienced from this parliament. He told them, it would have given his majesty the most sensible pleasure, had he been able to assure them, that his endeavours to promote a general peace had met with more uitable returns. He observed, that his majesty, in

conjunction with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, had chosen to give their enemies proofs of this equitable disposition, in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to take such a step with dignity, and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views. After such a conduct, he said, the king had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies; that he trusted in the blessing of heaven upon the justice of his arms, and upon those ample means which the zeal of the parliament in so good a cause had wisely put into his hands, that his future successes in carrying on the war would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations. He acquainted them, that his majesty had taken the most effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany; and at the same time to keep up such a force at home as might frustrate any attempts of the enemy to invade these kingdoms; such attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confusion. He took notice, that the royal navy was never in a more flourishing and respectable condition; and the signal victory obtained last winter over the French fleet on their own coasts had given lustre to his majesty's arms, fresh spirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval strength of France to a very low ebb. He gave them to understand that his majesty had disposed his squadrons in such a manner as might best conduce to the annoyance of his enemies, to the defence of his own dominions both in Europe and America, to the preserving and pursuing his conquests, as well as to the protection of the trade of his subjects, which he had extremely at heart. He told the commons, that nothing could relieve his majesty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burdens of his faithful subjects, but the public-spirited cheerfulness with which their house had granted him such large supplies, and his conviction that they were necessary for the security and essential interests of his kingdoms; he, therefore returned them his hearty thanks for these supplies, and assured them they should be duly applied to the purposes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which he had derived

BOOK

IV.



1760.

rived such important effects. He desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the king's government, and the good order of their respective counties, and consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.







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